FBIS DAILY REPORT

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SUNDIC ON USSR DENIAL OF GENSCHER MISSILES CLAIM

LD181735 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] The theme of our foreign affairs commentary is a denial or, to be more precise, its background. Why did Moscow delay in reacting to Genscher's statement on the Soviet Union's alleged readiness to agree to the exclusion of French and British missiles from the talks on Euromissiles? Commentary by Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] This denial cannot be interpreted as dissatisfaction with Genscher's visit to the United States, because Moscow is aware that the Bonn government worked energetically for the successful outcome of the Madrid CSCE and for a possible meeting between Reagan and Andropov. It is also known that the FRG would be least upset of all if the United States agreed to Moscow's request that the missiles owned by France and Great Britain also be taken into account during the bloc balancing in Europe. And yet it remains unclear whether Hans-Dietrich Genscher erroneously interpreted the Kohl-Andropov talks, or whether that was done on purpose. Either alternative is possible, but the very fact that Moscow's denial came only after a considerable delay indicates that the most likely possibility is that the USSR believed that nothing would change in the relations between the two superpowers if British and French missiles were left out.

This Soviet-West German misunderstanding was made public just as it was announced in Moscow that the Soviet Union and the United States had at long last agreed on the final text for the CSCE, and immediately after Marchais' visit to Moscow, which, according to French interpretations, underwent two major corrections. One of them also concerns missiles, as in the above case, which added a special significance to Marchais' visit to Moscow and his talks with Yuriy Andropov. Georges Marchais did not agree to treat French medium-range missiles as an integral part of the missile-nuclear potential of the Atlantic pact and, on the other hand, he did not agree that the reduction in the numbers of missiles in Europe should only apply to the West and not to the East as well. Marchais virtually supported Mitterrand's nuclear strategy and paid him back by appealing to Moscow in his speech on the French national day for a radical improvement and broadening of Soviet-French relations.

Like the United States, which views the course and outcome of the Madrid CSCE, exclusively as an integral part of its rivalry with the USSR, the USSR likewise adapts its total international activity to its basic foreign political preoccupation -- its relations with the United States. For instance, Moscow did not deny Helmut Kohl's statement that Andropov would meet Reagan, but it did so when THE WASHINGTON POST reported that steps were being taken in that connection in the United States. Likewise, Moscow ignored Reagan's statement on the successful outcome of the Madrid conference, but the next day it strongly accused the United States of sabotaging the talks in Geneva. What does all this mean? The Soviet Union tried for 2 years to establish direct contacts with President Reagan and failed to do so. In fact, the U.S. President did not want a summit meeting. The moment has now come when Reagan is considering running again, and Moscow is not ready to accept talks with the U.S. President at any cost. So it may happen that President Reagan will be the first U.S. President since the beginning of World War II never to have met the Soviet number one man.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO REPORT ON MBFR TALKS

For a Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO report on the progress of the MBFR talks in Vienna, including proposals submitted by USSR, CSSR and Bulgarian officials, see the Disarmament section of the 19 Jul Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

VISIT BY GUINEAN PRESIDENT TOURE BEGINS

Welcomed by Zhivkov

AU181818 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Guinea and president of Guinea, has arrived in our country at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council.

The guest was welcomed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and by other party and state leaders.

Ahmed Sekou Toure visited Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Boyana residence and discussed questions in a friendly talk pertaining to bilateral relations. They also dwelled on topical issues of the international situation.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented the "Stara Planina Order" with ribbon to the secretary general of the Democratic Party of Guinea and president of Guinea. Ahmed Sekou Toure is being awarded by the State Council for his contribution in consolidating the independence of the African Continent and for his share in developing relations between Guinea and Bulgaria, as well as on the occasion of his official visit to our country.

After the presentation of the order, Comrade Sekou Toure was introduced to Comrades Grisha Filipov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, and Petur Dyulgerov.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave an official dinner tonight in honor of the Guinea guest.

Zhivkov Hosts Dinner

AU181917 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, gave a dinner in Sofia tonight in honor of Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Guinea and president of Guinea, and the officials accompanying him.

The dinner, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, and Petur Dyulgerov, as well as by deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, members of the State Council and government, and the officials accompanying the Guinean guest of honor. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Ahmed Sekou Toure proposed toasts during the dinner.

Official Talks Start

AU190818 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] The official talks between Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Guinea and president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, have begun at the Boyana residence. On the Bulgarian side, those attending were:

Peter Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Nikola Todoriev, minister of power supply; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agroindustrial Union; Dimitur Metodiev, assistant to Comrade Todor Zhivkov; Boyan Traykov, BTA director general, and Vladimir Atanasov, Bulgarian ambassador to Guinea.

On the Guinean side, the officials accompanying Sekou Toure attended.

Issues of bilateral cooperation and certain international problems are being discussed in a friendly atmosphere.

STANISHEV MEETS WITH SPANISH CP SECRETARY

AU151917 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 15 (BTA) -- Mr Francisco Romero Marin, member of the Executive Committee and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, was on a business visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. At the meeting with the secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Dimitur Stanishev, information and reports were exchanged on topical questions concerning the activity of the two parties and the situation in the world.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr Francisco Romero Marin reaffirmed their mutual wish to continue to develop in the future the traditional relations of friendly cooperation and solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Spanish Communist Party resting on the communist ideals and on the common struggle for peace, social progress and socialism.

CONGRATULATIONS SENT ON NICARAGUAN ANNIVERSARY

LD182145 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, handed over a letter of greetings from the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government to the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the revolution, in Managua today. The letter says that 19 July, the Nicaraguan people's red letter day, is being celebrated by the entire progressive world as the day of victory over the hated Somoza dictatorship and the beginning of the construction of a new and more just society and a happy future of the Nicaraguan working people. The victory of the Nicaraguan revolution has become a new impulse for the national liberation movement in Latin America, and a source of strength for the anti-imperialist fight of the nations of the entire world. The experiences of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, gotten in revolutionary struggles and in the initial stage of the construction of a new society, are the source of learning and inspiration for the progressive forces of all countries fighting for freedom and independence.

American imperialism creates centers of tension in the area of Central America and the Carribean, rejects the peace proposals for solving the conflict submitted by the Nicaraguan Government and supported by the progressive public all over the world, and seeks by every means to extinguish the young Nicaraguan revolution. For this, it uses the reactionary forces of the neighboring countries, and the criminal gangs of Somoza guardsmen. The Nicaraguan people heroically fight the open aggression supported and organized by the Reagan government: They are determined to defend the results of the revolution until their last breath and to protect the sovereignty and independence of their country.

In conclusion, the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government assure the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front that the CSSR firmly stands at its side in its effort to build a new Nicaragua, and is determined to afford the Nicaraguan revolution its full support and solidarity.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, has sent a telegram of congratulations on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist revolution to the Nicaraguan minister of foreign affairs, Miguel d'Escoto Brockman.

The Central Council of Trade Unions has sent a message of greetings to the Sandinist Center of the Working People, praising the invincible determination of the Nicaraguan working people to build a new society and the organization's important contribution to strengthening the action unity of Nicaraguan progressive and patriotic forces in the fight against world imperialism and the internal and external reaction supported by the United States.

HOFFMANN MEETS, TALKS WITH POLAND'S SIWAK

LD152333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Text] Albin Siwak has been visiting Czechoslovakia. He has met with Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions. They have talked about progress in the sociopolitical stabilization of our country, current tasks, and the current situation in the party and union organizations, youth affairs, and the ongoing work of our Sejm.

Issues relating to the movement of individuals, tourism and broad cooperation between large work enterprises and sociopolitical organizations were also touched upon.

KUCERA RECEIVES BAVARIA'S JOSEF STRAUSS

LD181339 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, received in Prague today Josef Strauss, minister president of Bavaria and chairman of the Christian Social Union, who has been in Czechoslovakia on a private visit. They exchanged views on topical international problems and on some issues concerning mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG.

BRIEFS

IRANIAN OIL MINISTER'S VISIT -- Prague -- Iranian Minister of the Oil Industry Mohammad Gharazi paid a short visit to Czechoslovakia on Saturday and met with Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jaroslav Jakubec. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 18 Jul 83 LD]

HOFFMANN MEETS WITH USSR'S ADMIRAL GORSHKOV

LD181634 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Berlin 18 Jul (ADN) -- SED Politburo member Army General Heinz Hoffmann, GDR defense minister, received Admiral of the Soviet Navy Sergey Gorshkov, deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Navy, for a working meeting on Monday. During the cordial meeting both sides noted that cooperation among the socialist fraternal fleets continues to develop and that very good results have been achieved in joint combat training at sea. They assessed the performance of the brothers-in-arms as an expression of their resolution always to protect the socialist gains of the fraternal countries vigilantly and in combat readiness.

Both personages underlined the growing responsibility of the united forces and fraternal fleets for the securing of peace. They spoke of the increasing efforts by the United States and the other NATO states, which do not border on the Baltic, to expand their presence in this area in a provocative manner by the deployment of strong naval and air forces in exercises, as most recently in "Baltic Operation 83."

Luncheon Given

DW190733 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 18 Jul 83

["Aktuelle Kamera" newscast report on the Hoffmann-Gorshkov meeting]

[Excerpt] Defense Minister Hoffmann on 18 July gave a luncheon for his guest USSR Admiral Gorshkov. Other participants were: Rolf Kersten, minister of heavy machine and installations construction; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Colonel General Werner Fleissner and Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, deputy defense ministers. Also present were Army General Mikhail Zaitsev, supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, and Army General Ivan Shabrov, representative of the supreme commander of the High Command of Warsaw Pact Countries assigned to the National People's Army.

KUWAIT CABINET AFFAIRS MINISTER ARRIVES 18 JUL

LD181644 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1428 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jul (ADN) -- 'Abd al-Aziz Husayn, the minister of state for cabinet affairs of Kuwait, arrived on a visit to the GDR minister of foreign affairs. He was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, secretary of state and deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as other leading colleagues at the GDR ministry of foreign affairs.

BRIEFS

HARVEST PROGRESS REPORT -- By this date grain mowing in the GDR has been completed on about 500,000 hectares, or one-fifth of the grain acreage. Over the weekend the peasants used every hour of the dry weather to work the fields with harvester threshing machines, straw presses, and sowing machines for fodder seeds. In many places they were supported in this job by their cooperation partners of the livestock branch. Straw has been cleared from more than 50 percent of the area mowed. So far, 50,000 hectares have been sown to catch crops for fodder to be harvested in the fall. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 16 Jul 83 DW]

KADAR, DELEGATION ARRIVE ON OFFICIAL MOSCOW VISIT

For Moscow reportage of the official friendly visit to the USSR by Janos Kadar beginning on 18 July, including his meeting with Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other activities, see the Eastern European section of the 18 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINE REPLACEMENT BEGINS

AU181442 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Jul 83 p 7

[Article in the column "The People's Economy -- the World Economy," attributed to Ivan Gador and Nandor Keresztenyi: "Hungarian Enterprises Are Also Bidding; With World Bank Loan"]

[Summary] Our bread grain production abounded in successes in the past decade. Only the provision of machinery caused problems. "By reason of our known economic difficulties, truly modern, high-capacity tractors and combines could not be acquired on a mass scale for years. Only in exceptional cases did the equipment other than the above that was brought into the country or produced domestically meet the wheat yield requirements of more than 5 tons per hectare and the average corn yields of approximately 8 tons. Leading agricultural enterprises have been trying to keep their old machines operational with great efforts. Exceeding any realistic life expectancy, some American IH tractors have been functioning for 13 years. For years, keeping Hungarian, Soviet, Czechoslovak, Polish, and -- primarily -- GDR power machines and attached working implements in operation was prevented by a spare part shortage that has become chronic. The situation was aggravated by the fact that a fair portion of these tractors and combines has become worn out, so that their operation required spare parts beyond a rational economic scale and involved, of course, considerable costs."

Under the intensive bread grain production program, the goal is to increase bread grain yields without increasing the area sown with grain. Yet, it is being said in agricultural circles that a deterioration of the standard of bread grain production is to be expected if wornout machines are not replaced within a definite time. To prevent this, a limited number of medium- and high-capacity tractors and combines were imported from West Europe and overseas last year and the beginning of this year.

"However, only a loan agreement recently concluded with the World Bank will bring about an essential change. Not only has the loan, which was granted under exceptionally favorable conditions, improved the purchasing power of agriculture, but it has also made possible an invitation of bids -- competitive bidding thus far unusual in Hungarian machine imports."

The tender concerning the sale of agricultural machinery for our country's intensive bread grain production program was posted in the World Bank bulletin in April, and bids were opened on 10 June. They will be evaluated by World Bank experts. "Virtually every notable agricultural machine producer in the world submitted bids, including John Deer, IHC, Claas, Fiat, Hesston, Laverda, Steyer, and others, as well as two Hungarian enterprises -- Raba and the Agricultural Machinery Trust." The Hungarian firms' bid is in no way inferior to those of the big worldwide enterprises. [In the same column and on the same page, another 750-word article also is attributed to the above authors. It includes an interview with Dr Gabor Magyar, deputy minister of agriculture and food, who reveals that "some 45 percent of the tractors and some 28 percent of combines are worn out, written off" and that for the implementation of the third phase of the intensive bread grain production program "233 Claas-Dominator combines have been received" and 142 tractors, including 67 Fiat-made ones, are expected in July.]

WRON, PRON, PARTIES CALL FOR LIFTING MARTIAL LAW

WRON Decision on 'Normalization'

LD181751 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Here is the communique about a session of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON).

A session of the Military Council of National Salvation took place today. The session was chaired by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. During the course of the deliberations it was stated that the contents expressed in the stance of party echelons and allied parties as well as of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth (PRON) correspond to the current needs of the normalization of sociopolitical life in Poland.

WRON has adopted appropriate decisions.

PRON Calls for Abolition

LD181633 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 17 Jul -- The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) has recently called on the supreme state authorities to abolish martial law and adopt appropriate solutions that would enable martial law offenders and people in hiding to return to work and normal life.

The state humanitarian prerogatives have a longstanding tradition. Poland issued general acts of clemency or amnesty in 1945 and 1947.

They were followed by other marking the 20th, 25th, and 30th anniversary of People's Poland after the proclamation of the July 22, 1952 Constitution of the Polish People's Republic which authorized the Council of State to grant amnesty or commute sentences passed on individual or specific offenders.

In an unprecedented move in Poland's modern history, the Council of State issued a decree on December 12, 1981, accompanying martial law decree, which provided for a pardon and remittal of certain offences and legal violations for those who were willing to abandon their earlier activity against the state security, law, and order.

Such humanitarian decisions have always been an expression of the authorities' trust in society and confidence in the citizens affected by the decisions.

Cooperation Commission Decision

LD182241 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] A session of the Warsaw Commission of Cooperation Between the PZPR, ZSL, and the SD took place in the seat of the Warsaw SD committee.

The sociopolitical situation in Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship were discussed. The initiative of the PRON concerning the lifting of martial law was referred to with appreciation. It was also emphasized that there is an increase in the sense of civic responsibility which is so necessary for an effective functioning of the economy in the conditions of social calm.

URBAN, RYBICKI ON DRAFT COUNCIL OF MINISTERS LAW

LD182203 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 18 July -- Government's Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Undersecretary of State at the Council of Ministers' Office Prof. Jerzy Rybicki [name as received] briefed the newsmen on guidelines of draft-law on the Council of Ministers. So far the legal position of the Council of Ministers -- Minister J. Urban pointed out -- is [word indistinct] from the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic by the decree No 113 of the Council of Ministers dated 30 June 1969. This decree lost partly its validity, some of its stipulations collide with provisions of the laws passed recently or legal acts being under [word indistinct] along with the implementation of economic reform.

In this situation it was indispensable to replace this decree by another legal act. The draft does not provide for constitutional changes which determine the position of the Council of Ministers. It reflects, however -- Jerzy Urban said -- the existing constitutional practice while creating for this practice the legal groundwork. For instance, it sanctions the [word indistinct] of Ministers -- members of the Government. The Council of Ministers is responsible and giving account of its activities to the Sejm (Parliament). The draft provides for possibility to set up the Council of Ministers' committees as well as auxiliary and opinion-making bodies and government's plenipotentiaries.

The draft-law -- the spokesman stressed -- determines the composition and powers of the Government's Presidium, the legal position and powers of the chairman [words indistinct] of the Council of Ministers including deputy prime ministers who not [words indistinct] the ministers will coordinate the implementation of socio-economic policies in the scope they were entrusted with by prime-minister.

The ministers -- Jerzy Urban indicated -- will represent the government and not the sector of (?administration) headed by them.

The legal status was also defined of the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers which will be the head organ of the state administration. Prof. Rybicki in turn stressed that he did not intend, following the prime minister's announcement, to introduce in the coming two years any major changes in the structure of chief organs of the administration and territorial division of the country.

Under preparation is the draft-law on head planning body whose target intention is to make the planning commission a body for strategical planning. To meet the need to select the problems relating to application of all effects of technological progress it is intended to set up a head administrative organ responsible for these problems. This organ, a committee for technological progress while putting stress on functional solutions would stimulate closer cooperation between scientific-research institutes and the industry.

WALESA: NEW LAWS COULD CREATE 'DICTATORSHIP'

NC181252 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw, July 18 (AFP) -- New legislation expected to be passed by parliament later this week could transform Poland into a dictatorship and create a situation even more explosive than under martial law, Lech Walesa warned today.

The leader of the banned trade union Solidarity made the statement in a phone interview with AFP.

"This is no search for compromise," Mr Walesa said of the new regulations to be submitted to a plenary session of parliament Wednesday and Thursday. "It's the beginning of dictatorship."

Mr Walesa, who said he had studied in detail the text of bills intended to replace martial law on Friday, characterized them as "vicious" and said they would "forbid roughly everything that is still allowed" under the suspended state of siege. "It would be better just to keep martial law," he said.

Although he made the distinction between bill and law, saying the provisions could still be modified before their adoption by parliament this week, Mr Walesa warned that in their present form they would "widen even further the gap between the rulers and the ruled" in Poland.

The legislation, which has been approved by a parliamentary committee, allows employers to extend the working week to 46 hours, force workers who resign to continue for six months, and dissolve worker-elected self-management committees.

The regulations give authorities the power to remove the elected leaders of legally-recognized bodies and grant the Ministry of Higher Education sweeping powers over students, administrators and teachers.

Mr Walesa said the effect was to "forget completely the month of August (1980, the climax of a movement leading to the Gdansk accords and the birth of Solidarity) and all the lessons resulting from that." He added: "I am certain that society will not accept the laws and that we could well have been spared the mess awaiting us."

Mr Walesa, who returned to Gdansk Saturday from an unauthorized vacation, was greeted by a crowd of 5,000 workers shouting "Long live Lech" and "Bravo" when he appeared early today at the Lenin shipyards where he is employed as an electrician.

He reported to the personnel office, emerging four hours later with formal authorization for a July 4-30 vacation. He had left Gdansk on July 3 after receiving contradictory replies to his original request for a July holiday.

"They wanted to hand me a warning but I refused," he said. "I'm still on vacation and I'm in a good mood. We'll see about (?a warning) when I come back."

Mr Walesa said he would leave Thursday for the remainder of his holiday before returning to work in August.

Asked if he expected August, the anniversary month of the 1980 Gdansk agreement between workers and the regime, to be marked by protests he replied: "It will be a very hot month."

BUJAK CALLS FOR AMNESTY, UNION FREEDOMS

OW190120 Hong Kong AFP in English 0046 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw, July 19 (AFP) -- The Provisional clandestine Coordinating Committee of the banned Solidarity trade union (TKK) will remain underground and pursue the struggle for union rights, TKK leader Zbigniew Bujak said in a recent interview.

In the July 14 issue of the underground magazine TYGODNIK MOZOWSZE, Mr. Bujak said: It is not necessary for the ban on Solidarity to be lifted for us to come out of the underground. It would be enough if prison sentences on union activities were abolished and political prisoners were amnestied. Until then, we (TKK) will stay underground and continue the struggle for union freedoms, Mr Bujak added.

The fugitive TKK said that Solidarity would celebrate the third anniversary of the Gdansk accords of August 1980 that led to the short-lived establishment of independent Polish trade unions. The Gdansk accords celebration would depend on the political atmosphere in the country after the lifting of martial law on July 22, the national holiday.

Mr Bujak made his remarks before the government declared its intention to pass special legislation on government prerogatives before the lifting of martial law.

REUTER REPORT ON U.S. SANCTIONS DENIED

LD182118 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 18 July -- Today's issue of the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA carries an explanation of the assistant to the press spokesman for the government sent to REUTERS agency office in Warsaw. It says, inter alia:

The Polish press agency PAP has informed us that the REUTERS agency in its service [word indistinct] by Paul Bolding from Warsaw included the following sentences: "Poland has made clear it expects the lifting of martial law to lead to an end to Western sanctions. At the same time Polish authorities refused comment on reports that the United States Government had offered a specific deal in these terms on Wednesday."

Both pieces of information are not true. The press spokesman for the government told me to find out, which I have done, that a REUTERS representative had been present and even posed questions at his press conference held in the Interpress Centre on July 12, 1983.

The spokesman for the Polish Government at that conference put the Polish authorities' approach to the question of ending Western sanctions in a different light than you have reported.

Minister Jerzy Urban also as early as Tuesday broadly commented on the information about, as you have reported, "the United States Government's special offer" and on Wednesday, he explained to news agencies which asked for additional comments in connection with rumours about the contents of talks held in the Department of State by the Polish charge d'affaires in Washington that the statement made on Tuesday clearly defined the Polish Government's stand.

We hope that your agency will be willing to correct the misinformation and report on the real stand of the Polish authorities.

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES NEW SOVIET AMBASSADOR

LD182148 Warsaw PAP in English 2041 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 18 July -- Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski received today the newly appointed Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Aleksandr Aksenov who paid a preliminary visit prior to the beginning of his mission in Poland.

ORZECHOWSKI SPEAKS TO PRON ON MARTIAL LAW

AU151113 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 2

[Report on speech by Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and secretary general of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), at the 9 July session of the PRON Executive Committee in Warsaw]

[Text] In a few days, on 20 July, it will be the first anniversary of the declaration of PRON. This was a significant date in the history of the movement of national accord and rebirth. It was an important ideological and political motive to unite the differing streams, aspirations, and initiatives of our citizens, the general source and criterion of which was the ambition to pull Poland out of the socioeconomic, moral, and political crisis it found itself in, to restore the republic, and bring about the all-round rebirth of the state and its people, as well as to establish the socialist ideals of social justice, democracy, law and order, a creative meaning and value to work, and the dignity of man in the public's consciousness, as well as in people's attitudes and in social practices.

PRON's July declaration announced the emergence and created the framework for a nationwide movement uniting the workers and peasants, as well as white collar workers, that is, all those who, according to its text, "wish that things would be better in the homeland and practice what they preach in the hope that their actions will be as effective as possible."

Among the streams, aspirations, and initiatives put forward by the citizens, which the July declaration bound together in one undivided movement called PRON, a special pioneering role was played by the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth which came into being after 13 December 1981.

These committees came into being at a most difficult time, shortly after the dramatic but irrevocable decision to introduce martial law was taken, a decision which would save the state and its people from the worst.

It was a time of doubt and hope, of apathy and flight into internal emigration, or into the ranks of the silent majority; but on the other hand, it was also a time when it had just begun to occur to people that only the boldest and those who are the most active can emerge from the national tragedy and that it is around these people that others will gradually congregate for the sake of the highest value -- the homeland in which we live and that we are responsible for.

Those who belonged to the rebirth committees which were only just being set up in December 1981 were on the side of hope and action. By working to restore the normal rhythm of social affairs as well as socioeconomic and political stability, they were deeply convinced that the hopes that were a product of the workers' August protests against the distortions of socialism did not cease in December. These people could see in the decision on martial law the chance to create the right conditions which would facilitate the continuation of socialist renewal and the implementation of the reform program adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The people's need to live under normal conditions and to continue the achievements made by past generations during the history of the PPR the hope that we can emerge from the crisis on our own strength, the political realism that was displayed in appraising the situation, and our own chances and potentials all contributed to the PRON movement and were expressed in the 20 July declaration which voiced the need for patriotism in our daily work and social activities and gradually broke down the "barrier of mutual misunderstanding and mistrust, gall, and disappointment" that divides our countrymen.

The essence of all the measures taken by PRON was to create the conditions and prerequisites that would normalize the situation in Poland and jointly construct permanent foundations for the progressive development of this normalization. "Poland," states the 20 July declaration, "needs the kind of creative energy that comes of combining the words and actions of all our patriots." By stimulating social activity and aiding the restoration of real social and moral bonds, the PRON movement made a large contribution to consolidating the normal functioning of the state, while at the same time creating the sociopolitical and economic prerequisites that are necessary for the abolition of martial law.

These were the aims that the newly established movement was bound to. In order to do them justice without overestimating them, I ought to point out that we should and can act effectively, that a passive attitude and barren opposition only worsen the crisis, prolong the state of abnormality we are in, and delay our return to a normal life. The movement proclaimed that there is no alternative to national accord, that PRON is the only chance for all Poles, aside from the "opponents of socialism and socialist renewal, except those who treat the people and the state, its independence and its security as a pawn in a political game serving interests that are not those of Poland." By undertaking specific initiatives and activities aimed at normalizing the affairs of the people and the state and at pulling the country out of the crisis more quickly, the movement gradually broadened its social base and reached those who were lost and doubtful.

In creating the sociopolitical, economic, and psychological conditions necessary for stabilization, consolidation, and the normal functioning of the socialist state, the movement thus created the realistic prerequisites we needed to lift martial law. In November 1982 the commission initiating the establishment of the PRON Provisional National Council appealed to the supreme state authorities for an end to martial law. This appeal was heard in Poland and beyond its borders. It was proof of the fact that we are a genuine, independent social movement expressing our views on matters concerning the people and the state in our own voice.

The complex internal and external situation and the many unknown factors linked to the country's further development caused the supreme heads of state, who bear the main constitutional burden of responsibility for its fate and the way it works, as well as its internal and international position, to make the decision not to lift but to suspend martial law.

It has been almost 6 months since then; time is passing and Poland's sociopolitical, internal and international situation is altering. Deputy Premier Zenon Komender has spoken of this in depth. Further stages of the great work of reform are being implemented and the socialist renewal of political, socioeconomic, and intellectual life has become an irreversible fact which has been adopted in the exceptionally hard-working and comprehensive activity of the PPR Sejm in the stimulating and inspiring activities of the PZPR, which has remained unswervingly faithful to the policy line of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the strategy of accord, struggle, and reform, in the government's organizational activities. Passions are gradually subsiding and realism is winning.

More and more citizens are bestowing their trust on the political forces and the PPR authorities, whereas the words of the opposition and the underground, the words of all those who have chosen to play the role of the opponents of socialism and adhere to it even when Poland is changing and going forward, are being listened to less and less. The 1 May celebrations, the 6 million working people who took part in its processions, and the dignified and peaceful June visit of Pope John Paul II which served Poland and national accord are proof of the fact that forces hostile to the interests of Poland and its people as well as the socialist state cannot now count on wider support. The development of PRON, the trade unions, and all forms of self-government share the same policy line of progressive social consolidation, national accord, and the establishing of changes which are in keeping with socialist renewal.

The activities of our movement are responsible for the changes which are taking place and becoming accepted in Poland as well as in the gradual emergence from the crisis. We have already made a great step forward in uniting all our patriotic forces: party members with nonparty members, people of different denominations with atheists, and Marxists with non-Marxists in line with PRON's programmatic principles. We have begun to implement the program adopted by the First PRON Congress.

In appraising Poland's current sociopolotical situation, we have noted with some satisfaction that we can find in all our achievements since 13 December 1981 -- such as national accord and unity, stabilization and renewal, our emergence from the crisis, restoration of our weakened ties with society to their former strength, and the rebuilding of the weakened infrastructure of social affairs -- some permanent traces of the ideas and initiatives behind the activities of our movement's participants and sympathizers.

All this leads to the fact that following some responsible thought on the matter as well as a comprenensive appraisal of the sociopolitical situation in Poland, and expressing the desires of Poles to whom the ideals of social justice and socialist democracy are dear and who are aware of the fact that these ideals cannot be implemented without lasting order in their homeland, and recalling the resolution of the First PRON Congress, the Presidium of the Executive Committee requests the PRON National Council Executive Committee to address an appeal to the Sejm and the PPR Government to lift martial law along with the humanitarian and legal aspects which were a result of its imposition. We believe that the time and the conditions are now ripe for this to happen since the majority of the Polish public has scored full marks for their patriotic responsibility, selflessness, and political realism.

We are realists. The crisis is still with us even though so much has been done to curb it and check its destructive activities. Working people in Poland are struggling with daily setbacks, and there is still a lot of bitterness, mistrust, and doubt, as well as much evil in society. The opponents of socialism and of socialist Poland have not disappeared. The imminent -- let us hope -- lifting of martial law will not automatically solve our worst problems, nor will it become a miraculous cure for all our troubles. There is still a long and difficult road ahead with many dangerous thresholds to cross. Whether we do this effectively and speedily will depend, above all, on our economic activities. These should give social initiative a free reign and create the conditions for wise and effective work which will considerably increase our material and intellectual scope. There is and can be no other road toward development in Poland, and PRON will continue to follow the road mapped out by the first national PRON Congress.

TRYBUNA LUDU TRACES PARTY CHANGES SINCE CONGRESS

AU171340 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 83 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska article: "The Same, but Not the Same"; passages in upper case published in boldface]

[Text] THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PZPR CONGRESS IS AN OCCASION FOR VARIOUS REFLECTIONS AND FOR ASKING HOW WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO IMPLEMENT THE CONGRESS DECISIONS. ON SUCH AN OCCASION WE CAN PONDER ABOUT OUR COUNTRY, ABOUT OUR OWN ENTERPRISE, ABOUT THE ENTIRE PARTY, AND ABOUT AN INDIVIDUAL PARTY ORGANIZATION. WE CAN ALSO PONDER ABOUT PARTY MEMBERS -- ABOUT OURSELVES -- AND CAN EXTEND TO PARTY MEMBERS THE SAYING THAT DENOTES THE REBIRTH OF THE PARTY, NAMELY; "THE SAME, BUT NOT THE SAME." WE CAN MAKE THIS EXTENSION BECAUSE IF OUR PARTY -- THE SAME PARTY -- IS CHANGING QUALITATIVELY, THEN ITS MEMBERS MUST ALSO UNDERGO SUCH CHANGES.

Yearning for a Moral Canon

The statute, which defines the duties and rights of party members, tells us what a party member should be. This description of the party member is, however, very general and rough, as can be expected from the very nature of the statute, which is the basic document followed by the party in all its activities. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION "WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR AND WHERE WE ARE HEADING" PEOPLE CONTINUED TO DEMAND FROM TIME TO TIME THAT THE ETHICAL REQUIREMENTS OF PARTY INTEGRITY SHOULD BE DEFINED AND THAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY THE DEFINITION OF "WHO WE ARE" OR "WHAT WE ARE." Some people shrugged their shoulders in this connection, saying, not without reason, that the party is not a sect and that party integrity cannot be treated as a monastic pledge. This is true, but perhaps we have to take notice of the yearning, which is asserting itself within the party, for a typical canon of morality.

While defending the party against antisocialist attacks and defending socialism against man's doubts, we have used the argument that it is not the party -- its ideas and aims -- but the people who are to blame for the distortion in the past years. Only the most easygoing among us laid this blame at the door of a few people from the party leadership....

The people who are to blame include those who did not make decisions but kept silent when they saw evil things; those who did not profit personally but who applauded those who did, because they were afraid of losing their positions; those who said that the leadership was right although they knew that the grassroots were right; and so on and so forth. THE WISH THAT SUCH ATTITUDES DO NOT AGAIN DEFLECT THE PARTY FROM ITS CHOSEN COURSE AND DO NOT COVER IT WITH DISGRACE IS TODAY DICTATING THE NEED FOR THAT MORAL CANON OF PARTY INTEGRITY.

The Struggle of Ideas Will Continue for a Long Time

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIVIDUAL -- HIS FREEDOM, DEVELOPMENT, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIETY -- IS ONE OF THE BASIC PLANES OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES IN OUR COUNTRY THAT ARE STILL CONTINUING. This is a difficult, very complicated, and philosophically fundamental problem, which, for the purpose of attack, is being made extremely shallow by the extensively circulated thesis that our system makes man -- as an individual -- a slave of the class laws of social development, whereas the idealistic philosophy makes him the foundation stone of the world. In the post-August period this was the aim of various ideologues advocating the "sovereignty" of people and groups of people, proclaiming the abstract term of "human dignity," and so on. Party members were not miraculously immune to these voices. Perhaps, despite appearances, this was good. THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN OUR COUNTRY WILL TAPER OFF. IN THE PAST 3 YEARS WE HAVE PROVED THAT, DESPITE THE DREAMS OF WORLD REACTIONARIES, WE ARE NOT A SUICIDAL NATION.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME -- NO DOUBT FOR GENERATIONS. THAT IS WHY THE ISSUE OF PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS SHOULD GAIN AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN PARTY LIFE AS THE MEANS OF PROJECTING IDEOLOGY AND OF REVEALING THE WORLD OUTLOOK. This is all the more important since this issue has actually never had such a place in the party. We cannot help noticing that the primary party organizations want this issue to gain such a place, even though they do not view it in such a "scientific" way.

An entirely different difficulty continues to hinder the promotion of this issue in party practice. I will call this difficulty the fear of verbal moralizing and will say that this fear is justified. It is common knowledge that modesty has belonged to the canon of communist vitues ever since the times of Lenin. Well, no one every said as much about modesty in pretentious language as the most immoderate party leadership in the party's entire history did.

The gap between words and deeds can be as large in these cases of individuals and groups as it can be in the case of politicians.

The question of whether there is any justification for the party to be "different" -- party members continue to ask this question rather frequently -- is not without significance. The crucial difference between the objectionable arrogance of party members vis-a-vis their communities and their achievements -- probably indispensable -- that distinguish them in their communities becomes obliterated in time.

I have been told of an interesting occurrence. A nonparty shop leader in a large plant, who has perfect knowledge of his workers as well as their domestic conditions, was asked how many of his workers belonged to the party, but did not know. All he knew was that a women brigadier was a member of the executive committee because he had to release her from work from time to time to attend committee meetings. Comrades from the plant committee said that this was without a doubt a positive state of affairs because "party members should not be different from other workers and should thus maintain ties with the masses." In the old, but ever young, party language such "ties" are called disappearing in the masses and denote just the opposite to the ability to win over the masses.

ONE'S JOB IS NOT THE ONLY PLANE ON WHICH MILITANT PARTY ATTITUDES CAN AND SHOULD ASSERT THEMSELVES. ONE'S CIVIC DUTIES ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT A PLANE. IF THE PARTY REGARDS THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AS ITS PROGRAMMATIC TASK, PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO ANY MANIFESTATIONS OF INJUSTICE, NO MATTER WHO IS INVOLVED. I know as well as my readers do how difficult it is to assume such an attitude. Each one of us has enough of his own cares and worries and is thoroughly committed to his work to be able to make the disinterested effort to see that shops, offices, and neighbors behave properly. However, we can and should certainly afford one thing: not to support the actions of others that are unjust and morally wrong and not to make profit out of such actions.

THERE IS ANOTHER PARTY ATTITUDE, WHICH IS ALSO VERY IMPORTANT. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PARTY MEMBER NOT ONLY TO KNOW AND APPRECIATE THE IDEAS AND POLICY OF THE PARTY, BUT ALSO TO PROPAGATE AND, IF NECESSARY, DEFEND THEM. That is why we must not "keep mum" in political discussions, during exchanges of views, and in ideological clashes. We sometimes hear that party members are without theoretical training, lack arguments, and are not keen on disputes and that they are therefore entitled to be passive. This may be partially true, but not always. The fact is that we often just keep silent. What we need is to have our own views and a portion of civil courage.

THE PARTY MEETING, WHICH DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A TRAINING MEETING, SHOULD BE A PLACE IN WHICH WE ACQUIRE AND CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, AND ETHICAL VIEWS. EVERY PARTY MEETING CAN BE A PLACE IN WHICH PARTY MEMBERS CAN LOAD UP THEIR BRAINS, ENRICH THEIR ARGUMENTS, AND CLARIFY DOUBTS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS. It is true that there are not enough such party meetings, but we party members have not much to do to ensure that there are more and more such meetings.

IN OUR MASS WE ARE THE SAME PARTY MEMBERS WE WERE 3, 5, 10 YEARS AGO, BUT WE ARE ALSO OLDER, NOT ONLY IN YEARS. THE PAST YEARS HAVE BEEN THE YEARS OF A SEVERE POLITICAL AND MORAL SCHOOLING. WE ARE NO LONGER THE SAME PEOPLE. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF WHAT WE SHOULD BE SO THAT OUR PARTY IS ABLE TO FULFILL ITS DUTIES TOWARD THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE ASKED AND TO BE ANSWERED AT DIFFERENT LEVELS, INCLUDING THE LEVEL OF EACH ONE OF US AS INDIVIDUALS.

VOIVODA ON DISSATISFACTION TOWARD ADMINISTRATION

AU150758 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 83 pp 3, 5

[Article by Janusz Owczarek, voivoda of Wroclaw: "In the Opinion of Offices -- in the Opinion of Citizens"]

[Excerpts] When performing its tasks, the state administration adheres to the law in force in the interests of citizens. However, this does not mean that all citizens are satisfied with this activity. Representing the supreme interests of the state, the administration is equipped with powers which citizens find burdensome in certain circumstances.

So, for example, observing the work of taxation offices, one could say that the administration is losing its role of service toward citizens, in other words it is relinquishing the basic function for which it was created. Imposing taxes and collecting them with determination through the use of compulsion and threats of fines on undisciplined persons, in other words the performance of the most unpopular duties, is not always accepted by citizens in general, since not many people agree to having their incomes diminished, regarding this as wrong on the part of the administration.

Such a situation is mainly the result of people's lack of knowledge of fiscal law and the rights and duties of citizens emerging from it. It is also the result of the fact that people are not accustomed to bear certain burdens for the sake of the state treasury. It ought to be said that the stereotype continues to exist among society whereby an office possesses all-pervading powers enabling it to settle any matter according to its own free will, without taking the interests of citizens into consideration.

This is a faulty view -- for every activity by an official is determined by a legal norm, and the far-reaching democratization of an office's methods of action creates a guarantee that the office is acting within the law.

It will certianly not be possible to eliminate these negative feelings, however, we are trying to ease them as much as possible by making planning more social in nature and by explaining the reasons behind decisions and the social justifications behind them. As a result, the number of decisions that are questioned is not large.

The administration's activities are geared to a full implementation of the law, especially to the protection of correct social interests and the rights of citizens. Yet they are sometimes questioned or regarded as unjust by narrow groups of people or by individuals.

The greatest amount of dissatisfaction among citizens is caused by matters concerning the allocation of apartments. This complex problem requires no further discussion. Yet here too, the main cause of dissatisfaction is not an unfair allocation of housing, but the fact that there is nothing to allocate. For this very reason, right now we cannot settle the applications of 4,000 Wroclaw families who are living in exceptionally difficult conditions. In 1982 administrative bodies in Wroclaw city and voivodship turned down almost 600 applications for housing.

The somewhat "extrastatutory" activities of administrative bodies concerned with such controversial matters as the controlled sale of industrial articles not subject to rationing, the distribution of building materials and agricultural machinery, and the distribution or restriction of fuels and energy, encounter a wide-ranging negative reaction from people on the whole.

To end, one ought to stress that the generally unfavorable opinions on the administration's work are not confirmed in figures. So, for example, local bodies of the state administration in the Wroclaw Voivodship issued 267,000 decisions in 1982, of which only 780, in other words 0.3 percent, were reversed as a result of appeals.

POLITYKA CITES GDANSK YOUTH SESSION STATEMENTS

AU121358 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Jul 83 p 8

[Article signed ("JP"): "The Need for Dialogue"; questioners not identified]

[Excerpts] The all-Poland session of the youth aktivs of the PZPR was attended by 4,000 participants in the Olivia Hall in Gdansk on 2 and 3 July. As was said during the session, these participants represented some 260,000 PZPR members and candidates under 30 years of age.

In the wings of the Olivia Hall 10 tables were positioned with overhead boards carrying the names of the representatives of the authorities who were expected to sit down and talk. This less official part of the session was quite lively. Even before the representatives in question had arrived from the main hall, the tables had been closely surrounded by young people.

The direct talks with the youth activists -- held during the breaks in the session -- were attended by Vice Premiers M. Rakowski and Z. Szalajda and by Ministers A. Ornat, J. Korzonek, B. Faron, Z. Krasinski, S. Ciosek, F. Zieba, S. Kukuryka, W. Oliwa, M. Renke, and J. Cisowski. We have recorded excerpts from the talks at the most crowded tables.

[Question] Why are you eliminating studies for workers? Voivodship committees have intervened in this matter, but there is still no response. This is a class and political matter. Let us take a look at the class composition of students. Worker and peasant young people are being deprived of their opportunities.

M. Rakowski: The reality is as it is. The number of those admitted to higher studies is dictated by the country's economic situation and by the actual demand for graduates. Young people's concern in this regard is correct, but, side by side with what is correct and even with what results from political and ideological considerations, the reality is what it is. It is this reality that dictates certain decisions. Nevertheless, as you know, studies from scratch have been made on General W. Jaruzelski's initiative for worker and peasant boys and girls. The state's resources are limited. What can we do? Organize a third shift in the money-printing plant? Temporary restrictions will be present everywhere until the economic situation normalizes. This is the case with admissions to higher studies as well.

[Question] But the studies for workers are the least expensive.

M. Rakowski: All the same we have to finance them. We had to follow the estimated requirements for graduates. Perhaps some mistakes were made with these estimates, but we had to trust the expertise of the ministry.

[Question] Those who apply for workers' studies know what they want to do and where they are needed.

M. Rakowski: The state tries to act in line with the public response. There were no candidates for many fields of higher study.

[Question] Is it true that it will be compulsory for party members to belong to trade unions? In such a case people will say that trade unions are party trade unions. What have trade unions achieved so far?

M. Rakowski: At the moment trade unions have almost 3 million members. Some of these members are retired people. Trade union membership is increasing a little too slowly, for which there are many objective and subjective reasons. Some people have burned their fingers in contacts with the trade unions run by the Central Trade Union Council and Solidarity and in contact with branch trade unions, and they say: We will not join the new trade unions. However, trade unions membership would go up if it were boosted by those million party members who continue to stand still, wait, and see what happens.

The new trade unions were born in an acute political struggle. Of all people it is precisely party members who should join these trade unions. Do not party members belong to the same work forces as nonparty people? If you are advised by the party to join a trade union you cannot call this compulsion. You should distinguish between advice and compulsion. The party has the right to issue instructions to its members. This is not compulsion. It is merely the fulfillment of statutory duties.

Minister Z. Krasinski: Any farmers here?

[Unidentified person] I am!

Z. Krasinski: Are you satified with new procurement prices?

[Unidentified person] Not too satisfied.

Z. Krasinski: What do you mean? What does not pay?

[Unidentified person] Animal breeding does not pay. The new prices were introduced too late. You should have done this 6 months ago.

Z. Krasinski: If we had introduced these prices 6 months ago you would have sold nothing to the state for 6 months.

[Question] Why are rations of rationed goods so low?

Z. Krasinski: Remember butter? When it was rationed everyone kept saying that the butter rations were to small, but when we abolished butter rationing people began to buy less butter, saying that it is not healthy to eat much butter. And candy? Mothers now keep telling their children that candy is bad for the teeth.

[Question] Then perhaps you should abolish the rationing of meat?

Z. Krasinski: I do not want to set a stone rolling, but perhaps meat rationing will be abolished next year.

[Question] A Pole earns Z12,000 and spends Z15,000. You have to work extra, often for a private enterpreneur, to make ends meet.

Z. Krasinski: Does not a private enterpreneur pay you real money? A student went to Norway, where she was asked where Polish students spend their vacations. She said some usually go to the mountains and some to the seaside. But what the Norwegians wanted to know was where our students go to work during their vacations because all Norwegian students work during theirs.

[Unidentified person] Yes, but after they have worked for a month they can travel anywhere they please.

Z. Krasinski: Are you not able to earn enough for your vacations and more than that if you work for a Polish farmer? He pays up to Zl,000 a day.

[Unidentified person] But in Norway they earn incomparably more and can buy whatever they want for that money.

Z. Krasinski: If we keep looking at the richest countries and if we tell ourselves that people in those countries earn four times as much as we do then perhaps we had better stop working altogether.

[Unidentified person] The entire wage system should be reformed!

Minister S. Ciosek: We must not pay even a zloty extra to anyone unless his productivity warrants this.

[Unidentified person] We agree, but in our coal mines miners find it difficult to calculate their earnings because there are so many wage factors that we are confused.

S. Ciosek: We do not want to decide at the ministerial level how much specific trades should earn. The economic reform provides a large measure of freedom for enterprises in this regard. Every zloty of wages must be backed by production. Wage increases can and should be financed by profits.

[Unidentified person] We keep talking about the economic reform in large enterprises, but the situation in small enterprises is quite different. We should tackle this problem!

Z. Szalajda: All right. We will hold a conference of small enterprises.

[Question] There are problems with the powers of trade unions and workers self-management bodies in enterprises. Could this not be settled legally?

Z. Szalajda: It is true that there is a need to accurately separate the functions of the trade unions and the self-management groups, but it is still too early to do this. We have too little experience to do this by law. It is true that interpretations of the laws are needed, although in practice it is the people who have to settle these issues.

[Unidentified person] Teachers should be able to earn as much as engineers and technicians do.

Minister B. Faron: We plan to adjust teachers' earnings to the average level of the earnings of engineers and technicians in all sectors of the economy, except mining, as of 1 September this year.

ECONOMIC EXPERT ON NEED TO AMEND REFORM

PM180925 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 7 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Chairman of the Consultative Economic Council Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski by Agnieszka Suchecka; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: At the moment the reform is the main topic of the day. Apart from specialists, other social groups are voicing their opinions on it: those within the Sejm and those in factories. The government, too, makes regular pronouncements on the reform. It is thus possible to say that assessment of the reform, of its results and shortcomings, is beginning to constitute a social phenomenon.

Answer: This is undoubtedly true.

Question: Is it a good sign or a bad one?

Answer: A good one. It simply means that there is enough material there to talk about. It would be far worse if there was only silence on the subject, and a lack of public interest. But we must also keep in mind the reasons for the motives behind many assessments and suggestions, as well as the many misunderstandings and -- which is the most important -- the really complex circumstances which have accompanied the reform from the start. When we first began work on setting out its principles, we assumed that, after a period of quiet preparatory work, the reform would be gradually introduced from the end of 1982.

Question: But things took a different turn and the reform was launched at the beginning of 1982.

Answer: That worried me quite a lot for a while. However, after giving it some thought, I arrived at the conclusion -- which I expressed publicly -- that bringing the launch of the reform forward was an act of necessary courage. It is true that the circumstances were extremely unfavorable at that time -- the worst one could possibly imagine. But, on the other hand, postponing the reform any longer would have meant a collapse of the economy. The previously existing system of injunction had already collapsed altogether (which was indicated as early as 1980, when half the enterprises did not approve the plans). It would also have been sheer illusion to wait until some equilibrium -- that is, conditions favorable for the introduction of a reform -- had been reached again. Finally, to postpone the reform at a time when it was so eagerly awaited by all would have meant that the authorities lost their credibility in the eyes of the population. After all, people regarded the reform as the only chance of emerging from the difficulties and the crisis -- and not only the economic crisis.

Question: So there is some justification for the opinion that the reform was prepared in too great haste, and that it contains certain gaps?

Answer: To a certain extent, yes. The main premises and intentions behind the reform, which were approved by the Ninth PZPR Congress, remain unchanged. The need to fill in the gaps and to modify certain aspects of the mechanism of the reform is a result not so much -- or not only -- of their original hasty formulation, or the delays in the implementation of the reform, but also of the changing circumstances in which the reform is operating.

Question: In a book published 2 years ago entitled "Economists on the Reform" -- the title speaks for itself -- you were one of the few authors to try to forecast the future of this large tidying-up operation in our economy. You drew up two versions, or, as they call it, timescale variants for the reform to display its full effect.

Answer: Yes. I said that the optimistic variant gives us less than 3 years of waiting for the results of the reform, and pessimistic one foresees a period longer than 3 years.

Question: But when do we start counting? Is it from the moment when the reform was first launched?

Answer: That would be too simple to be correct, if only for the fact that -- to give but one example -- in the banking apparatus the reform was only initiated in the second half of 1982 and, to all intents and purposes, has only now just taken off. And yet the reform in that sector is a key issue, and very difficult at that. The bank must constitute more than a mere counting office -- which is all that it had remained for long years in the past -- it must also analyze and evaluate the functioning of enterprises.

I still maintain that my forecasts were correct, but THE COUNTING STARTS TODAY [words in uppercase in boldface] and here I would also like to say that I do not find the expression "launching the reform" appropriate. The reform is not a technical project that is first prepared in a designer's office and then trial-launched, with trial samples of the product being tested, and so on. The reform is something which goes on, a process within which -- given specific circumstances -- some things are found to work and others are found to fail. Last year, for instance, the assumptions of our anti-inflation policy were proved incorrect. It is also necessary to remember the prices shock suffered by the population last year. This resulted in a serious "prices allergy syndromes" which restricted the authorities' freedom of movement in straightening out our market situation. There is also another problem connected with that allergy. The present anti-inflation program, which correctly emphasizes that the best long-term remedy against inflation and long-term method of restoring equilibrium is to increase production, is largely interpreted by the population as offering the possibility of abandoning the use of other methods, such as the one involving movement of prices. And certain circles in our economic administration are now nursing an illusion that the most important weapon in the fight against inflation is putting a stop to pay rises. But the reform, of course, envisages both price movement and pay adjustments.

A considerable proportion of our society has regarded the reform -- and continues to do so -- as something that will automatically bring about an improvement in our situation, as some kind of device that will enable us to cut corners on our way to prosperity. And there is an attitude of great impatience accompanying it.

Question: This seems to sound like a complaint. But we know that from the very start people yearned for the reform without necessarily understanding what it entails. And they still do not understand it. The language of most of its acts and decrees is quite unintelligible to ordinary men in the street. And, moreover, there are so many of those regulations that even specialists get lost among them.

Answer: There can be no question of our complaining, especially as the language of the reform is indeed difficult. Ah, well, after years of giving the cold shoulder to our legal experts we have finally restored then to their proper role and they are now obeying their professional instinct in defending, redefining, and multiplying the regulations. Compared, for example, with the Hungarian system, the legal framework of our reform is like the Himalayas to a mountain climber. I very much agree with the Hungarian specialist who -- in an aptly coined phrase -- warns us against the danger of LEGAL REGULATIONS OVERKILL [words in uppercase in boldface]. Aside from that, certain misunderstandings over the reform stem from incompetent propaganda.

Question: Do you mean it is again the journalists who get the blame?

Answer: I would say they have their share in the blame together with the economists and also the authorities. The point is, simply, that they concentrated first and foremost on highlighting those aspects of the reform which pointed to its end results, and talked about how good things would be one day, while ignoring the the difficulties involved in carrying out the reform and not paying enough attention to the reform's temporary solutions or the above-mentioned gaps that required that certain amendments and complementary measures be introduced.

Question: It was not only the public which proved impatient in its evaluation of the reform and in the expectations connected with i ...

Answer: True. The authorities were equally impatient. This is particularly evident from the public utterances of certain ministers. And as far back as the middle of the last year the first decisions were taken which -- to put it bluntly -- testified to the government's restlessness. The second phase in the government's mounting anxiety made itself apparent toward the end of last year, brought about by the surge in pay rises. And yet their increase ought not to have been such a bolt out of the blue.

Question: Let us go back to the starting point of our conversation. To those assessments, as well as proposals and suggestions, offering different concepts of how to improve on many aspects of the reform. You will surely agree that they are not all lucid, nor are they useful in getting society acquainted with the ins and outs of the reform.

Answer: That is an impression one may form. I am particularly impatient with the widespread habit of gneneralizing on the basis of individual observation. It reminds me of the book by Karel Capet on his travels through Italy. At one point he leaned out of the window of his railroad coach in one of the towns they were passing, saw a red-headed girl and noted down that all Italian women are redheads....

The comparatively large number of suggestions proposing changes in the reform which are being submitted at the present moment is partly a result of people's accumulated experience, and partly that of mounting impatience, and sometimes one can discern in it an expression of people's dwindling faith in the essential elements of the reform. With a certain degree of simplification, the submitted suggestions and proposals for modification can be divided into three main groups. And we can adopt their attitude to the issue of the independence and self-management of enterprises as one of the differentiating criteria.

Question: What groups are these?

Answer: The first one includes suggestions dictated by their authors' concern for the reform and its fundamental principles. Their basic point of departure aims at increased management efficiency in independent and self managing enterprises. Their authors assume the existence of an economic imperative [przymus ekonomiczny] which influences decisions in enterprises. The essential thing here is to avoid an unnecessary accumulation of steps leading in that direction, and thus to avoid narrowing the choice of efficiency-oriented measures appropriate for the given enterprise. In the long run the most important factor of any progress here consists in increased adaptability of enterprises, achieved through their ability to make autonomous decisions.

This trend in the suggestions submitted to us is fully endorsed by the Consultative Economic Council. I personally endorse it, too. I also include here the suggestions put forward by the Socioeconomic Affairs Council attached to the Sejm and by the Sejm advisory group, to say nothing of the Commission for the Reform.

There, are, of course, some differences, as there naturally will and ought to be, between their respective opinions. After all, everybody has his own view concerning certain matters. Everybody has the right to make mistakes. But this whole set of opinions constitutes a certain cohesive family of outlooks on many of our common concerns.

Question: What concerns are these?

Answer: To give an example, there is the question of taxation. We all agree that the taxation measures applied so far are not right for the state budget or the enterprises. We have suggested the system of linear taxation [podatel liniowy]. Another conviction which we all share is the one about the absolute necessity of so-called hard financing [twarde finansowanie], which, incidentally, still remains nothing more than a generalized formula.

Question: What about the second group of suggestions?

Answer: These arise from a concern about certain particular selected problems and their treatment under the present circumstances and conditions of the reform, and given the currently applicable rules of the game. This type of approach is, for example, characterized by multiplying many different concessions and priorities instead of concentrating on the goal of being able to direct the activity of enterprises through the application of reasonably objective parameters. Even if we concede the justifiability of the individual suggestions, the danger still remains of the -- already discussed -- "regulations overkill" within the system and of a surfeit of priorities -- which always ends in disaster. How the attempts at excessively detailed intervention tend to end is demonstrated in the case of the so-called preference rates allotted by the Employment Incentive Fund [FAZ]. The initial premise was that, while the basic rate stood at 0.5 [value not specified], certain enterprises would be able to take advantage of higher rates, even reaching up to 0.8, which was a very substantial privilege compared to the basic rate. And then it transpired, from the findings of a poll carried out by the government plenipotentiary for the reform that, while throughout industry as a whole the top preference rates were only granted to a small minority (9 percent) of enterprises, in the group of major enterprises with the highest average pay those rates were allocated to more than 50 percent of enterprises....

Although the authors of this group of proposals on how to amend the reform are above all else guilty of seeing only particularized targets, they do not question the basic tenets of the reform. And this is why discussion is possible. Personally, I see a chance for integrating this group with the first one.

On the other hand, I do not see any such possibility with regard to the views represented by the third group of opinions and proposals, submitted by one particular team of specialists from the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] and signed by the chairman of that organization, Deputy Premier Aleksander Kopec. It is a most peculiar document. It uses language of the reform, but it turns away from its basic tenets. This is best demonstrated in its attitude to self-management.

A striking feature of the NOT document is its lack of confidence in, or even any respect for, self-management bodies or the autonomy of enterprises. There is a desire to shift the burden of decisionmaking onto institutions which are of superior rank to the enterprises. In addition to that, the document would reduce the current right to make independent decisions enjoyed by self-management bodies to a right to merely pronounce opinions. One also finds in it a stipulation giving unlimited power to administrative units to disband self-management bodies.

Mention is also made of granting superior authorities the right to introduce new tasks into the plan if those tasks are considered to be socially justified. What an opportunity this would present to the administration for introducing their own ideas as they chose! The NOT team also proposes an obligation to submit all plans prepared by the enterprise to be approved by a superior unit, in addition to suggesting that those higher instances be given the right to merge and to split up enterprises.

In the initial post-liberation years a considerable proportion of managing directors in charge of enterprises lacked experience, while those who did have the experience had acquired it under the conditions of the capitalist system. This offered a certain justification for extending the powers of the so-called higher instances. Today, however, we cannot accept the thesis claiming that knowledge and practical familarity with economic practice grow in proportion to one's official rank. Polls conducted by the Consultative Economic Council indicate that there is not only some progress in the activity of enterprises but also a considerable growth in their directors' understanding of the principles of the reform and the new style of economic activity demanded by it. We can also expect, on the experience of other countries, that the fund of knowledge and experience of workers' self-management bodies will continue to expand. Careful handling is necessary if we are not to distort these processes.

Interviewer: Thank you for the conversation.

AUDITING COMMISSION EXAMINES ECONOMIC REFORM

AU141302 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Andrzej Leszczynski article: "The PZPR Central Auditing Commission Assesses Economic Reform in Everyday Party Life"]

[Excerpts] The choice of topic for the meeting of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission was not made by accident. The PZPR Central Auditing Commission has recently assessed the participation of the party and its organizations and cells in implementing economic reform. The basic criterion behind this assessment was the way in which the schedules of tasks facing party bodies since the 8th and 10th PZPR Central Committee plenums are being implemented.

Let us repeat that the topic was not chosen by accident for efficient management has an important effect on progress in transforming the country and leading the economy out of the crisis. This is not all. Since the party formulated the idea of economic reform and set the example of consistently implementing it from the beginning, one cannot remain indifferent to the question: In what way are party bodies, by means of their daily inspiration and control, influencing the economic reform process which has been started?

The party bodies have been obligated to do this by the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which says:

"The congress believes that it is the party's duty to the whole of society to implement economic reform as quickly as possible. Carrying out the reform is a basic condition for implementing the program of emerging from the crisis and laying the foundations for Poland's socioeconomic development."

So how is this strategic concept understood is basic party organizations and cells at all levels, and how is it being implemented by them?

The checks carried out by the Central Auditing Commission in April and May this year on the basis of the commission's statutory powers covered 7 voivodship committees (Katowice, Warsaw, Gdansk, Lodz, Krakow, Wroclaw, and Lublin), 2 municipal committees, 7 district committees, 3 municipal-rural committees, 45 factory committees, and 62 primary and departmental party organizations.

Therefore, industrial installations, where there is a large concentration of the workers' class, and also areas where industry lives side by side with agriculture found themselves under scrutiny. The fact is notable that control bodies checked many primary party organizations and also factory committees. Therefore there was a sufficient base on which to determine the real opinions existent among circles of party aktivs and party members on the subject of economic reform and on the general activities being undertaken to propagate it.

"The view dominates that despite the serious restrictions that make it difficult to introduce new principles, significant progress has been achieved in restructuring the economic system according to the decisions made by the Ninth PZPR Congress," the Central Auditing Commission states.

Among the positive features of the economic reform detected during the checks, the following were mentioned: submitting annual production plans to enterprises; the freedom of enterprises to determine their employment level and to structure themselves, as well as a partial freedom to determine wages, the fact that enterprises manage the resources (including financial ones) which they have earned; and the possibility for enterprises to create internal organizational structures and federations.

What, on the other hand, caused concern? Attention was drawn to the following:

-- Many decisions made last year introduced an element of uncertainty to the activity of enterprises, and the financial differences betweeen enterprises were exposed wrongly and quite by chance. Such was the effect, among others, of the Council of Ministers' Resolution No 186, which adjusted the payments to be made out of the FAZ [Employment Incentive Fund].

-- Attention was drawn to the fact that the functions of local authorities had not been defined precisely and to the need to restructure the central levels of administration.

-- The correct opinion was expressed that the necessary system of distributing materials is making it difficult for the reform to develop.

In the Central Auditing Commission's opinion, all of the above factors made it difficult to achieve cohension between economic policy and the principles of the reform in 1982. It is also worth quoting some other conclusions reached on the basis of the opinions gathered on economic reform:

The Central Auditing Commission states that "the fact that the reform, which is an experiment on a large scale, has coincided with the weakening of many party bodies does not make its implementation process any easier."

"The view is maintained that the economic reform is in a position to automatically solve all difficulties if only decisions and actions are improved." However, as the Central Auditing Commission says, "Reform means a change in conduct and a change in thinking by party members and by the entire community concerning difficult economic problems."

How, therefore, are party bodies influencing the propagation of this mature concept of the economy today? The Central Auditing Commission has determined that voivodship committees and lower-level party bodies are considerably active in this sphere. New initiatives have arisen: for example, the Gdansk initiative to hold a joint conference between the party and economic aktivs of maritime economy enterprises in Gdansk Voivodship and their counterparts in Szczecin Voivodship. In Krakow, a team dealing with incentive systems has been set up and it is coordinating investigations being made inside plants to come up with incentives.

One can observe a considerable organizational effort being made and numerous initiatives being put forward by political employees and some party aktivs comprising problems commissions, in order to spur on the economic reform in accordance with the decisions of the 8th and 10th PZPR Central Committee plenums. However, in many of the lowest party bodies, primary party organizations, departmental party organizations, and factory committees, the economic reform is not receiving sufficiently strong party support.

The reason for this, according to the Central Auditing Commission, is "a weak knowledge by rank-and-file party members of the principles and mechanisms of reform. A lack of acceptance and understanding of the new systemic solutions is weakening the inspirational role of party organizations in overcoming the crisis and implementing the reform."

Stronger impulses are necessary in order to encourage favorable changes in party bodies' methods of action and in party members' thinking. Implementing economic reform demands individualization in party tasks and imposing these tasks on wide sections of party members. This also involves training and an explanation of the economic complexities of the reform.

A return to the Leninist norms of party life means a return to party controls, resolutions, tasks, and programs. A comprehensive assessment of party bodies' participation in implementing economic reform is a sign of all this. From the comprehensive checks that have been made, the conclusion emerges that there is a need to work out an effective new method whereby the party can politically influence state and economic administrative bodies and leadership cadres, and a need to seek new forums of joint activity between party collectives and working collectives. These are matters which require urgent consideration.

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN ECONOMIC REFORM

AU131240 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9/10 Jul 83 p 3

[Leszek Chmielowski interview with Tomasz Afeltowicz, chairman of the Polish Economic Society: "Trade Unions and Economic Reform"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Chmielowski] It would be hard to expect that the economic reform could be ultimately successful without the extensive participation of trade unions. Is this participation satisfactory?

[Afeltowicz] It is not as yet. Actually it can be said that the subject of this participation is rarely brought up during debates on the final shape of the reform, which is nothing to wonder at because the past continues to encumber the trade unions' attitude toward the reform. In particular, I have in mind Solidarity's attitude toward and negative evaluation of the concept of the reform drawn up by the Commission for Economic Reform.

The First National Congress of Solidarity, trying to put forward an alternative concept, which assumed a comprehensive and ultimate form, initiated a critical phase of the trade unions' attitude toward the reform. An opportunity to change this state of affairs came about toward the end of September 1981 when, on 25 September, the Sejm adopted two laws which are the basis of the reform: the law on state enterprises and on workers self-management groups. These laws were passed after extensive consultations with trade unions, including Solidarity. Unfortunately, as early as the first days of October an unfavorable change in solidarity's position on these fundamental laws was produced. Later on this position was turned into an almost total legislative blockade.

[Chmielowski] Insofar as I can remember, the Council of Ministers passed on 30 November 1981 Resolution No 243 which introduced temporary solutions for 1982.

[Afeltowicz] For political rather than objective reasons these solutions were never approved by Solidarity. The decree of 12 December 1981, which suspended trade unions, produced a definitive break in their activities vis-a-vis the reform. Workers self-management groups were also suspended toward the end of that December, but provisions were left for them to be revived during martial law.

[Chmielowski] This is just the past....

[Afeltowicz] But this past is still present in the awareness of many work forces.

[Chmielowski] Do all work forces realize the objectively existing differences in the approach of workers self-management groups and of trade unions to individual problems?

[Afeltowicz] Broadly speaking, the task of self-management groups is to attend to the long-term interests of work forces, which is bound to mean in practice that the interests of enterprises must have priority in the long run. As you know, the task of trade unions is to attend to the living standards of work forces, primarily in the short run. This time lag between the tasks of self-management groups and trade unions in attending to the interests of work forces can create many difficulties. Experience -- though brief -- has taught us that this time lag can even produce conflict situations in extreme cases.

[Chmielowski] What is the remedy?

[Afeltowicz] The remedy is efficient enterprises -- their social and political infrastructure. Political organizations, especially the PZPR, could assume through their members the role of mediators in disputed problems. Even during the first phase of drawing up new rules for the performance of enterprises, we were aware of the dangers in question because we remembered all the bad experiences caused by the direct interference in production by social organizations and trade unions. This bad experience induced us to meet the need to change this state of affairs by, among other things, passing the aforementioned laws, which grant a number of important powers to work forces to make it possible for them to reconcile conflicting interests.

[Chmielowski] What in your view should be the most important task for self-management groups and trade unions in the immediate future?

[Afeltowicz] They should primarily create suitable motivation systems that are compatible with the principles of economic reform. The militancy of trade unions in this regard is something natural.

I personally think that as long as this militancy fails to be expressed by a specific position on a specific issue (at the level of enterprises and branches of industry or at the national level), the possibilities for reinforcing the economic reform by creating the necessary mechanisms to settle the wage problems will be limited. Sooner or later the state employer, who is represented by independent enterprises, must be joined in the debate on the motivation system by properly established bodies representing the interests of work forces. This issue can be regarded as the most important and permanent task of trade unions in the sphere of the performance of the national economy and enterprises.

[Chmielowski] Are there tasks whose implementation you evaluate pessimistically?

[Afeltowicz] I do not see any major successes in the immediate future in the struggle waged nationally by trade unions and self-management groups to ensure that the mechanisms which regulate wage increases function properly. The burden of our crisis and the profound imbalance of our economy exclude any success for the time being.

[Chmielowski] Where should trade unions stress their presence?

[Afeltowicz] They should participate in analyzing our living standards and in calculating the minimum of social existence. Trade unions and self-management groups should also assist in analyzing the day-to-day behavior of people, because this may help overcome the reasons for and sources of social conflicts at any level. We know those reasons and sources from the past. I have also often said that efficient trade unions can assume the qualities that we have always ascribed to the institution of self-management groups.

[Chmielowski] Participation and independence of organizations are the key to national accord and to overcoming our difficulties.

[Afeltowicz] Almost all Polish economists are convinced that the correct functioning of the system of the participation of trade unions and self-management groups in the economic reform can prove to be a factor or a force capable of rejecting the illusory faith in the so-called automatism of rationalization measures and in the possibility for rationalizing the system at the national level without any tangible progress at the local levels. Such correct participation may compel the state and economic administration to see that improvements in the daily experiences of producers and consumers are permanent.

RZECZPOSPOLITA ON FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

AU141455 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 6

[Article signed "(JB)": "Laws and Decrees -- The National Trade Union Federation"]

[Excerpts] Following the registration by the Warsaw Voivodship Court of the first national trade union organization -- the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions -- and following the State Council's decision that this federation should begin its activities this year, our daily has received many letters and phone calls showing that our readers are interested in this new organizational form of trade unions. They have asked us about the organizational structure, aims, and tasks of the federation and whether the trade union law allows federations to be established at the factory level. They have also asked us other questions. This article will deal with these issues.

In line with paragraph 1 of the State Council resolution of 12 April 1983 on the principles and ways of organizing national trade union organizations, members of factory trade union organizations can choose from two organizational forms when setting up a national trade union organization:

A -- They can set up either an organization of the employees affiliated with present trade unions in factories (this means that employees of the given branch of work have the right to set up a national trade union)

B -- or they can set up an organization affiliating trade unions in factories (this means that they have the right to set up a national federation of factory trade union organizations in the given branch of work.)

The first form is generally familiar because all the trade unions operating before 13 December 1981 had a strictly defined organizational structure. Factory trade union organizations -- and before them the factory councils -- constituted the basic organizational cells. Main administrations elected at the factory meetings of trade unions operated at the central level.

The second organizational form -- the federation of factory trade unions -- is a new and unknown form of the postwar trade union movement in Poland. It was proposed by the activists of the metallurgical trade unions as a result of the deliberations and long discussions among their members, which means that it was a genuine grassroots initiative. The trade union law does not directly provide for trade union federations at the factory level because such federations were never contemplated. However, the miners' arguments proved to be strong enough to allow the setting up of such federations as alternative organizational forms. The present discussion in the new trade union movement suggest that federations will become basic organizational forms, especially in the initial period of the functioning of the national trade union organizations.

The Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions, which was registered by the Warsaw Voivodship Court on 20 May, numbered on that day 74 plant trade unions out of the 112 operating in the metallurgical industry. This means that 66.2 percent of these trade unions joined the Federation, which numbers about 90,000 trade unionists.
Even today we know that the miners' initiative has a chance of becoming a phenomenon of the regenerating trade union movement in Poland. The question is: Why is this organizational form so attractive?

The essence of the trade union federation is the fact that it is represented not by physical persons (members of the factory trade unions) but by the factory trade union organizations, which retain their legal status and, in general, far-reaching independence. These organizations continue to be trade unions.

There is no doubt that the solutions adopted by the statute of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions will serve as a model for other trade unions. Some enactments of this statute can be regarded as quite new. Practice will show whether they will be able to withstand the test of life.

The most important original enactments of this statute include: A) the method of appointing the authorities of the Federation, B) the social activities of the members who have become authorities, C) the extent of the Federation's powers, D) the principle of democratic centralism, and E) the principles of withdrawing from the Federation.

The Federation's bodies are the Assembly of Trade Unions, the Executive Committee, and the Audit Commission. The Assembly of Trade Unions consists of plenipotentiary representatives of each trade union that is a member of the Federation.

These representatives receive their powers from the administration of the given factory trade union for each meeting separately. They probably receive instructions on how to act as well. The Assembly elects the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Federation by a secret vote. These functions are honorary.

In the period between the sessions of the Assembly of Trade Unions the Federation is run collectively by the Executive Committee, which implements the Assembly's resolutions and adopts its own resolutions on all current matters. It reports on this to the Assembly.

The Executive Committee consists of 25 trade union organizations: 11 of them are permanent members (factory trade union organizations of the largest metallurgical plants) and 14 of them are elected by the Assembly for a term of 18 months.

The statute of the Federation defines with precision the political foundations of its activities. Article 1 of the statute stresses that "in its activities the Federation observes the class traditions of the metallurgical trade union movement." The statute also states that the Federation follows and observes the "principles laid down by the PPR Constitution and by other laws" and that the development of cooperation with the trade union organizations in other countries will be promoted "on the basis of the class principles of the unity and fraternity of the international trade union movement in the struggle for social progress, trade union rights, democratic freedoms, and peace and friendship among peoples."

A trade union which operates in the metallurgical industry and which accepts the principles of cooperation as laid down in the statute can become a member of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions. This means that before a trade union can join the Federation it must have a legal status. Whether the trade union in question operates only in a single plant or on a national basis is of no consequence.

A trade union can leave the Federation at any time provided the necessary resolution is passed by the appropriate body of the trade union. However, the union that leaves the Federation has to share in the financial costs of the Federation's activities up to the end of the given year and for no less than 6 months. No doubt this obligation will help eliminate too rash decisions to leave the Federation. The statute also provides for removing from the Federation the trade union that fails to observe the statute. A resolution on removal is passed by the Assembly of Trade Unions after it has heard the opinion of the administration of a given trade union.

Will the federal concept of factory trade unions fulfill the expectations attached to the regenerating trade union movement? It is too early to give a clear answer, but even today we can see that this concept has many virtues, although we know little of its functioning in practice.

The undisputed virtues of this new organizational form of trade unions go hand in hand with doubts, which it is worth paying attention to at the beginning of the operation of the federation system.

The primary questions raised in this connection concern the principles of drawing up action programs. Will they be "collections" of factory postulates? Will they to some extent reflect the postulates and aspirations of the individual factory trade union organizations? Will they take account of the objective interests of workers in the given branch of production against the background of national interests? Drawing up action programs in this way will often call for critical analyses of the factory postulates from the viewpoint of their urgency and implementability.

This brings up the issue of the permanence of the federation's membership and statute and of the federation itself. The principle that a majority resolution is binding on all members creates the danger the "outvoted" trade unions may withdraw from the federation. It seems that federations will be able to avoid this danger because the present discussions have shown that trade unions affiliated with a federation will see not only to their own interests, but also to the interest of the entire sector of the economy and to the national interests.

The conviction is widespread that this will determine not only the permanence of the federation but also the results of its external activities and negotiations with the appropriate body of state and economic administration.

The Federation of Factory Trade Union Organizations is an interesting beginning of the activities of the suprafactory structures of trade unions. It merits social approval. But this is just a beginning. Only practical activities will ultimately determine the social effectiveness of the federation.

PRAGUE WORLD PEACE GATHERING DISCUSSED

AU121304 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9/10 Jul 83 p 5

[Karol Szyndzielorz article: "The Prague Talks -- Are People Powerless?"]

[Excerpts] If one tried to find a common denominator for the talks that took place during the Prague gathering for almost a week, one would surely be an optimist. However, there was a general conviction that it is still not too late to avert the danger of war. This conviction was expressed in various ways. Parliamentary representatives saw the danger one way, doctors and writers, journalists and church representatives another way.

But instead of finishing my article with such statements, I would like to concentrate on one of the sessions during the talks. It was devoted to disarmament and to our continent's security. It gathered 200 participants, 100 of whom spoke. And this is the conclusion that was reached: The balance of terror is no guarantee for Europe's security today. On the contrary, it increases tension between nations and contains the danger of nuclear confrontation. Just as at many other conferences, the possibility of waging a "restricted" nuclear war was recognized as a dangerous illusion in Prague as well because such a war would inevitably spread to other continents. Then there would be no victors and no vanquished.

Therefore, the politicians, scholars, and publicists gathered in Prague came to the conclusion that from the point of view of European security, the best thing would be to dismantle all types of nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe. Most people obviously referred to nuclear weapons in Europe itself, especially to the plans to deploy new missiles in Western Europe still this year. These plans were condemned and the following arguments were put forward: These new missiles would upset the present nuclear balance and raise the arms race to a new qualitative and quantitative level of armaments and would seriously worsen the political climate of Europe and the world.

Even the best analysis is not any good unless one finds a way out of the crisis. The participants in the Prague session on Europe believed that public opinion should lend stronger support to the Geneva talks. They recognized the fact that a successful conclusion to the negotiations would be helped by a decision by the NATO countries not to deploy missiles this year. In this way the negotiators would gain more time.

It was added that while the talks are going on, both sides should commit themselves not to deploy any new missiles whatsoever. This also applies to France and Great Britain. In the opinion of some particpants, it would be right to include all nuclear states in Europe in the talks.

It is difficult to imagine a forum of the free exchange of thoughts on peace matters that does not include the subject of nuclear-free zones. It was recognized that nuclear-free zones could be created in various parts of our continent, for example, in northern Europe, the Baltic, central Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. There was even a suggestion to gradually set up a "security zone" in Europe that would cover all countries which do not possess their own nuclear weapons. It was brought to mind that concrete proposals in this direction exist both in the East and West. The common aim of these proposals is to increase the nation's hope for a peaceful future, a future based on the principles contained in the great European charter or the Helsinki Act.

The goals which the gathering has placed before the peace movements throughout Europe certainly require some thought. The point is to achieve nuclear disarmament in Eastern and Western Europe as a result of negotiations; to freeze and reduce the nuclear potential; significantly reduce conventional armed forces and weapons in Europe on an equal basis; reduce military budgets and use the funds saved in this way for development purposes; urgently convene a disarmament conference in Europe; determine nuclear-free zones; bring the talks in Geneva, Madrid, and Vienna to a positive and quick end; and observe the principles laid down in the Helsinki Final Act.

ROMANIAN-ETHIOPIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED

AU181230 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jul 83 p 4

["Joint Romanian-Ethiopian Communique" on President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Ethiopia, signed in Addis Ababa c 14 July]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official friendship visit to Socialist Ethiopia between 12 and 14 July 1983 at the invitation of Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council [PMAC], chairman of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia [COPWE], and commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and the officials accompanying them on the visit were given a warm reception as an expression of the fraternal ties of solidarity and friendship established between the Romanian and Ethiopian peoples.

During the visit, official talks were held between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, PMAC and COPWE chairman and commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia; the talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust. The sides highlighted the traditionally friendly relations existing between the two countries and peoples. They examined in depth ways and means of further promoting bilateral relations, and exchanged views on major current international problems.

The official talks were attended by:

For Romania: Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister; Comrades Gheorghe Oprea, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, member of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Silviu Curticeanu, member of the RCP Central Committee and head of the RCP Central Committee Chancery; Constantin Mitea, member of the RCP Central Committee and adviser to the RCP Secretary general and president of the republic; Marcel Dinu, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mihail Diaconu, charge d'affaires of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Socialist Ethiopia.

For Ethiopia, Comrades:

Fikre Selassie Wogderes, PMAC secretary geneeral, member of the COPWE Executive Committee, and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Fiseha Desta, PMAC assistant secretary general, member of the COPWE Executive Committee, and head of the COPWE Department for Legal, Administrative, and Defense Matters; Adis Tedla, member of the PMAC Standing Committee and of the COPWE Executive Committee, and deputy chairman of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning; Taye Tilahun, minister of internal affairs; Dawit Getachew, head of the Commerce and Services Sector of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council; Mamo Bahta, standing secretary at the Ministry of Industry; Tibebu Bekele, standing secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Assefa Woldie, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Socialist Ethiopia to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

During his visit to Socialist Ethiopia, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu laid a wreath at the Victory Monument, and visited the headquarters of the Supreme Council of National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning, the city hall of Addis Ababa, and the "Akaki Textile" enterprise.

Examining the current stage of Romanian-Ethiopian relations, the two heads of state expressed satisfaction with the continuous strengthening of their countries' bilateral friendship, Solidarity, and cooperation, which is fully in keeping with the basic interests of the two peoples. During their talks, the sides highlighted that the visit to Ethiopia by the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, constitutes a follow-up to the summit dialogue begun on the occasion of President Mengistu Haile Mariam's visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1978. In addition, they emphasized that the visit of the Romanian head of state also constitutes an important contribution to further markedly developing bilateral relations. At the same time, both sides stressed the importance and topicality of the "Declaration of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of Socialist Ethiopia" signed in Bucharest by the two heads of state on 7 December 1978, in which they sanctioned the principles of bilateral and international cooperation between the two countries. In this context, they stressed the need to intensify contacts and exchanges of views between representatives of the two countries at all levels, in connection with both expanding bilateral relations and certain current international problems.

The two sides briefed each other on the internal concerns of their countries in the areas of political, economic, and social development. The Ethiopian side informed the Romanian side about results obtained in the process of revolutionary changes and particularly on the current stage of development of the country. In its turn, the Romanian side informed the Ethiopian side on the Romanian people's efforts for independent socioeconomic development and on the progress made in this area under the leadership of the RCP.

The two presidents highlighted with satisfaction on the development of cooperation between their countries in political, economic, cultural, social, and other areas of common interest, and reasserted their determination to further consolidate these relations.

As to bilateral economic relations, both sides stressed the existence of a great potential for promoting extensive cooperation on mutually advantageous bases, in industry, science and technology, and investments, through the organization of joint associations or other suitable forms of cooperation in key economic sectors such as energy, mining, construction materials, light industry, the pharmaceutical industry, agriculture, and so forth. For this purpose, the sides agreed to intensify efforts to diversiy and expand commercial exchanges and to implement long-term cooperation projects. Expressing satisfaction with the establishment of the Joint Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation -- a body which held its first session in Bucharest in 1982 -- the two sides agreed that the second session of the commission should be held in Addis Ababa before the end of 1983.

At the end of the visit, the two heads of state signed a protocol on the development of economic and technical cooperation and of commercial exchanges between Romania and Ethiopia. They also signed an agreement on civil air transportation between the two countries. Examining current international affairs, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PMAC chairman expressed profound concern for the grave tension created in international relations by manifestations of the policy of force and threat of force and of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other states, by conflicts and wars in various parts of the world, by denying self-determination for colonial nations, by the unprecedented arms race, and by lack of progress toward eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic.

In view of these dangerous situations, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam highlighted the supreme obligation of peoples and their leaders, and of progressive forces everywhere, to resolutely act to halt the course of confrontation and war, and to resume and consolidate the policy of detente, peace, and international cooperation. The two presidents stressed their conviction that peace, security, progress, and cooperation in the world can only be ensured by strictly implementing in international relations the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, non-recourse to the use or threat of force, and peaceful, negotiated settlements of all interstate disputes.

After exchanging views on the situation in Africa, both sides reasserted their unqualified support for the principles of the UN Charter and of the OAU on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity among all the African nations, for the inviolability of state borders, nonintervention in internal affairs, and the peaceful, negotiated settlement of disputes among them. In this context, the two sides spoke out for a lasting peace in the Horn of Africa, in the spirit of the recommendations of the 18th OAU special session held in Nairobi in 1981.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and Socialist Ethiopia emphasized the special role expected of the OAU in the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, and against racism and any form of pressure and enslavement; they stressed the constructive efforts made by this organization to harmonize the relations among its member states and to solve the complex, political, economic, and social problems of the continent on the basis of the fundamental interests of the African nations which call for peace and free socioeconomic development. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the positive results of the 19th session of the OAU summit held in Addis Ababa in 1983, and expressed the hope that the efforts made by this organization to attain its fundamental objectives will be successful. The presidents of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PMAC chairman emphasized the urgency of granting Namibia its independence, and the need to respect the Namibian people's right to freely and independently choose their path of future development, in accordance with their legitimate aspiration and interests. They also reasserted their militant solidarity with and full support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, led by the South-West African People's Organization, [SWAPO], their sole legitimate representative. In this context, both sides expressed concern about the stalling tactics of the South African racist regime and about attempts to link Namibia's independence to other problems. At the same time, they highlighted the need for international efforts designed to achieve efficient measures -- through the United Nations -- capable of achieving immediate independence for Namibia on the bais of Resolution 453 of the Security Council.

The two heads of state stressed the need to urgently and completely eliminate the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and to secure the rights of the majority population in that country to freedom, equality, and social progress. The sides energetically condemned Pretoria's repeated aggressions against neighboring independent African states, and requested an immediate and unconditional end to any violation of the latter's sovereignty and to attempts to destabilize the countries in southern Africa.

President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the particularly grave situation in Europe, where vast military arsenals, especially of nuclear arms, have been built up. He stressed that the deployment and development of additional intermediate-range missiles in Europe even further exacerbate the threats to European and international peace and security.

In this context, he stressed the urgent need to halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles in Europe, to remove and destroy the existing ones, and to eliminate all nuclear arms from the continent, so that Europe can remain a continent of peace, security, and extensive cooperation. At the same time, he highlighted the need to conclude the Madrid meeting as soon as possible, to convene a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, and to ensure the continuity of the Helsinki process and a broad cooperation among the European states.

The two heads of state expressed their convition that security and intensified cooperation in Europe and the adoption of disarmament measures, primarily for nuclear disarmament, will have a positive impact on maintaining stability, security, and peace throughout the world.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, PMAC chairman, expressed profound anxiety about the grave situation in the Middle East. The two presidents advocated the comprehensive settlement and a just and lasting peace in that part of the world, based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, on recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and independent statehood, and on guarantees for the security of all the states in the area. Both presidents reaffirmed their countries' full support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and expressed the view that the participation of this organization in peace negotiations devoted to achieving a just and lasting solution in the Middle East is essential. In this context, the two presidents expressed the conviction that the immediate beginning of negotiations -- at an international conference convened within the United Nations with the participation of all sides involved, including the PLO -- can bring about solutions for settling the complex problems in that area.

At the same time, the two heads of state stressed the need for all-out efforts to safeguard the national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as its nonaligned status.

The two sides expressed concern about the continued war between Iraq and Iran, which is causing enormous losses of human lives and material damage. The sides spoke out for an immediate cessation of the military hostilities, for beginning negotiations, and for achieving a political settlement to the conflict between the two neighboring countries on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter.

Both sides reasserted their position in favor of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, in accordance with the UN resolutions on this subject, with a view to ensuring the security of the countries in the area and in the interests of peace in the area and in the world.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and Socialist Ethiopia reasserted their solidarity with the African, Latin American, and Asian peoples who are struggling for political independence and socioeconomic progress.

The two presidents highlighted their conviction that at present the major issue is the struggle to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. They stressed the need to immediately decree a general and total ban on all nuclear tests, to gradually reduce the existing stocks of nuclear arms until their final removal, to freeze and cut back military spending, and to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

Both sides expressed the view that the funds saved as a result of cuts in military spending should be used for the economic development of all the states, but primarily of the less developed ones.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and Socialist Ethiopia expressed their common determination to further energetically act, together with other states and with the progressive and democratic forces that militate for safeguarding and consolidating peace, to induce increasing efforts in favor of disarmament and of preventing war. Thus, they stressed the special importance of the vast mass movements in Europe and the world for disarmament.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam emphasized that the fate of world peace and security is closely linked to development problems. They expressed the conviction that eliminating underdevelopment, gradually closing the gaps between poor and rich countries, and ensuring conditions for the harmonious development of interstate economic, financial, and scientific-technical relations constitute basic factors for international stability and for improving the international political climate.

Profoundly concerned about the worsening of the international economic crisis, which has particularly affected the developing countries, the two sides expressed their determination to resolutely endeavor to overcome the present difficulties. They expressed particular concern about tendencies to expand protectionist policies, about continuous decreases in the price of raw materials, about increases in foreign debt, unjustifiably high interest rates, and cuts in aid programs; as a result of which, the difficulties of the developing countries are increasing. The two presidents expressed the belief that in these conditions everything possible should be done to improve the international economic situation in general and to alleviate the difficulties of the developing countries, proceeding from the requirements of international solidarity and in view of the close interrelations in the world.

The two heads of state stressed the need to intensify efforts to establish a new world economic order which should benefit all the states of the world. They stressed that international negotiations along this line, including the recent UNCTAD meeting in Belgrade, have not brought any positive results. In consequence, the two sides spoke out for urgently beginning a round of global negotiations within the United Nations. Similarly, the two presidents emphasized the need for a summit conference of the developing countries designed to expand cooperation among them and to coordinate their positions at future negotiations with the developed countries.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PMAC chairman of Socialist Ethiopia reaffirmed their conviction that the United Nations constitutes the most suitable forum for multilateral negotiations designed to find political solutions to all international problems.

In order to achieve those objectives, the two presidents spoke out for increasing the role, responsibilities, and efficiency of the world organization, and for adapting it to the requirements and realities of international life. They stressed that the developing countries, the nonaligned, and small, and medium-sized countries should play an important role in ensuring normal international relations, because they make up the majority of the world nations and because they are directly interested in promoting a policy of respect for national independence, and of international peace and cooperation.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu expressed cordial thanks to Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the PMAC and chairman of COPWE and to the Ethiopian leadership and people for the warm reception and hospitality extended to them during their visit. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the PMAC, chairman of the COPWE, and comander in chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia, and Comrade Wibanchi Bishaw to pay an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure; a date will be set through diplomatic channels.

Addis Ababa, 14 July 1983

CEAUSESCU, MACHEL BEGIN OFFICIAL TALKS 18 JUL

AU182054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Maputo (AGERPRES) 18/07/1983 -- On Monday afternoon official talks started between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Samora Moises Machel, president of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, at the Presidential Palace in Maputo.

The talks were attended for Romania by Elena Ceausescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei, Vasile Pungan, and by other officials, while for Mozambique by Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the FRELIMO, member of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, minister for foreign affairs, Jacinto Soares Veloso, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, deputy to the People's Assembly, minister for economic affairs at the Presidency, the Mozambican ministers of finance, industry and energy, agriculture and other officials.

Saluting most warmly the visit paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu to the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel expressed satisfaction at meeting again the leader of the RCP and Romanian state, and at resuming their friendly and fruitful dialogue, and asserted his confidence that based on the understandings to be reached, the collaboration between the parties and peoples of the two countries would be strengthened further.

Nicolae Ceausescu cordially thanked for the invitation to visit the People's Republic of Mozambique, for the warm reception extended to him. The Romanian president expressed satisfaction at meeting Samora Moises Machel again, at continuing the talks held in 1980 in Bucharest, at seeking and finding together ways for a still more powerful promotion of the Romanian-Mozambican friendship, solidarity and collaboration.

During the first round of talks, Nicolae Ceausescu and Samora Moises Machel informed each other about the preoccupations of their parties and countries regarding the economic and social development, examined the current stage of the Romanian-Mozambican relations and their development prospects and exchanged views on the current international situation.

Evoking the traditional Romanian-Mozambican relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration, established as early as the period of the Mozambican people's armed fight for national liberation, the two presidents noted with satisfaction that in the spirit of the understandings reached at the previous summit meetings in Maputo and Bucharest, the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the two parties, countries and peoples developed continuously.

Emphasis was placed in this context on the importance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in Maputo, in April 1979, and the determination to expand and deepen still more the collaboration between the two countries in the political, economic, technological, scientific and cultural domains, as well as the collaboration on an international plane. Stress was laid on the good prospects of development of a large collaboration and cooperation in agriculture, geology and mining, transportation, fishing and in other domains of mutual interest. The two presidents appreciated that that collaboration served the attainment of the Romanian and Mozambican people's aspirations afte. progress and prosperity, equally contributing to the strengthening of the cooperation of the developing countries, of the solidarity among the peoples and progressive forces everywhere in the struggle for progress, independence and peace in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Samora Moises Machel stressed the particularly important role for the promotion of the Romanian-Mozambican collaboration of the links of solidarity and cooperation developing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Frelimo, considering that these links made a substantive contribution to the better mutual acquaintance with the preoccupations, experience and accomplishments in socio-economic construction, to the rapprochement between the two countries and peoples. The two party and state leaders reiterated the determination to expand the links, contacts and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Frelimo. Both sides expressed their conviction that a steady promotion of bilateral collaboration backs the national effort the two countries are making for economic and social progress, is to the benefit and advantage of their peoples, serves the cause of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

During the exchange of views on questions of the current international life, stress was laid on the particular importance of the intensification of people's efforts with a view to halting the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, for the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the elimination of the states of conflict and tension in various regions of the world, by peaceful negotiations only, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of the new international economic order. Special attention was paid to the African problems, to the struggle fought for eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism, of the racial and apartheid policy, for a resumption of the aggressive South African actions against neighbouring countries. Special stress was laid on the intensification of the collaboration and cooperation among the African countries in view of their economic and social progress and of developing a strong economy in each country as a sine-qua-non for the strengthening of the political independence of all these countries. Related to all these problems the sides highlighted the resolve of the two countries to develop further the collaboration between them in the international life. The talks proceed in a warm atmsphere of friendship, mutual esteem and understanding.

Mozambique Media Coverage

For Maputo radio coverage of the visit to Mozambique by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, see the Mozambique subsection of the Southern Africa section of the 19 July Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

PRESIDENT TO VISIT SOMALIA 22-23 Jul

AU181720 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu will pay an official friendly visit to the Somali Democratic Republic 22-23 July at the invitation of Mohamed Siad Barre, general secretary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and president of the Somali Democratic Republic.

MATERIALS ON CYPRIOT FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT

Mojsov Dinner Toast

LD121027 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 11 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade 11 Jul (TANJUG) -- Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov gave a formal dinner in the Palace of the Federation tonight in honor of Nikolaos Rolandhis, Cypriot minister of foreign affairs, during which the two ministers exchanged toasts.

Welcoming the distinguished guest from Cyprus, Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, said in his toast:

"The Yugoslav Government and peoples have always paid special attention to the development and promotion of relations, cooperation, and friendship with Cyprus and indeed with all nonaligned countries because both Yugoslavia and Cyprus as nonaligned and developing countries are confronting similar or identical problems. Besides, we both have the great duty to continue the work of our presidents Tito and Makarios, who through direct contact and guided by the great objectives of nonalignment and a vision of peace in the world established the foundations of friendship between our two countries. We are resolved in our intention on the same foundations to carry on with the development of bilateral relations and international cooperation with the Republic of Cyprus in all areas." He said that, unfortunately, for a number of years the situation in the world has been assuming alarming characteristics of an increasingly sharp bloc confrontation through the arms race, exacerbation of economic relations and the developed countries-undeveloped countries' contradictions, and by the absence of any desire for a dialogue that will facilitate a revival of detente and a search for and the devising of constructive solutions for a whole number of problems of the modern world. Lazar Mojsov stressed:

"In an open crisis of international relations it is precisely the policy of nonalignment and the nonaligned countries that are again indicating an alternative and a way toward solution of accumulated work problems. In this context the Seventh Nonaligned Summit indicated the ways and means to their solution, in keeping with the interests of all peoples and without interference and pressure. The movement of nonaligned countries has again asserted itself as an extra-bloc and independent force of the present-day world that cannot be ignored. It is in the interest of all countries to solve the aforementioned problems, and especially those concerning disarmament and development, primarily within the framework of the UN, which was an idea advocated by the last nonaligned summit. The nonaligned movement undertook important actions toward resolving the crises; this was also manifested in the activity of the nonaligned countries in the Security Council concerning the problems of Namibia, Central America and Arab territories."

Having said that we are still witnessing the continuation and growth of crises, some of which, such as the one in the Middle East and the Iraqi-Iranian war, are in the immediate vicinity of both of our countries, and have a direct impact on our area, Mojsov stressed: "Lasting solutions can be secured on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter and the policy of nonalignment, by respecting sovereignty and territorial integrity, through the withdrawal of foreign troops and by respecting the nonaligned status and the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies."

The situation in the Middle East is constantly getting worse and its settlement cannot be expected except through a solution that will be all-embracing, which implies Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, respect for the right of the Palestinian people to return and establish their own state and by recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the people of Palestine. Now, support by all nonaligned countries, and especially by the Arab countries, for the PLO is required so that the present difficulties and conflicts in and around the PLO can be overcome in the interest of the Palestinian people." [quotation marks as received]

"The uncertainty regarding the Cyprus problem, which is most closely linked with peace and security in the Mediterranean region, continues to give rise to our concern, said Mojsov. Therefore, Yugoslavia, as she has done in the past, will persist in consistently working for the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the application of UN resolutions and the stands of the nonaligned movement, which advocate independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus, and prescribe withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island. Negotiations between the two Cyprus communities, conducted on an equal footing and under the UN aegis, are the best way to devise a lasting solution for the Cyprus problem." [quotation marks as received]

Mojsov then said: "Deterioration of relations between East and West has a direct impact on European security and the situation in the Mediterranean and also weighs heavily on the process of implementing the Helsinki document. At the Madrid conference, the nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe -- among which our two countries work very actively -- work for the successful completion of the Madrid meeting and for development of cooperation among the European countries in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. We believe that these efforts will yield fruit and that the Madrid meeting will be concluded soon."

"Experiencing a serious economic crisis in which economic problems are taking on exceptional dimensions, the whole world is getting into a situation of major upheavals, with serious consequences for overall international relations," said Mojsov. "The unequal world economic system is affecting the developing countries most and in a most serious way. This calls for radical changes in the international economic and financial system.

At the recent Sixth UNCTAD meeting in Belgrade, although no great historic breakthrough was achieved, a number of agreements were obtained for some concrete actions and a way was opened for the continuation of dialogue on issues on which no agreement had been achieved on this occasion. Further efforts are required, both by the developing and the developed countries, to overcome the present economic crisis and establish more equitable international economic relations and a new international economic system." [quotation marks as received]

Mojsov also pointed to "the problem of the arms race that threatens the very existence of mankind." "I should like to reiterate the message and the declaration of the Delhi seventh summit, which demands an end to the arms race and the beginning of a process of general and complete disarmament. We expect that decisive steps in this direction will be made by those countries that can make a substantial contribution to halting the arms race, particularly the nuclear one," he said.

Lazar Mojsov ended his toast by saying: "Your visit and the talks that we have already had represent yet another manifestation of friendship between Yugoslavs and the people of Cyprus and our joint resolve to develop and promote cooperation between our countries in the interest of consolidating peace, cooperation, and progress in the world."

Joint Communique

LD131842 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 13 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG) -- A joint communique has been issued at the conclusion of a 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Nicolaos Rolandhis, foreign minister of the Republic of Cyprus. The communique states that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Republic of Cyprus and between their governments has been very successful and is continuously being developed on the basis of traditional friendship, mutual respect, and trust. Identical or greatly similar views and stances were expressed during an exchange of views on topical international questions and on the development of bilateral relations and cooperation, the joint communique states.

Minister Rolandhis and his associates, who were in Yugoslavia at the invitation of Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, were received by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council.

During their examination of the international situation, Mojsov and Rolandhis expressed deep concern about current events and the negative tendencies apparent in the development of international relations, relations that are characterized by increased confrontation between the blocs, the arms race, the use of force and pressure, unequal economic relations. the world economic crisis and unsolved problems in this sphere that particularly affect developing countries. The two sides reiterated their deep conviction that global talks on restructuring the international economic order should begin as soon as possible. While discussing the results of the recently concluded Sixth UNCTAD session, it was emphasized that even though many of the most important world economy questions were not solved, a number of agreements on some concrete actions were reached through enormous efforts and the road was opened for continuing the dialogue on essential questions.

The two sides paid special attention to the Cyprus problem, expressing deep concern that efforts made so far to end the crisis had not been successful. It was emphasized that in order to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem it was necessary to end military occupation of a part of Cypriot territory and to urgently withdraw all occupation forces. This is in keeping with UN resolutions and with the decisions and declarations of the nonaligned movement that were confirmed at the New Delhi summit. The interlocutors also confirmed the importance of meaningful and essential talks to be held under the auspices of the United Nations and within the framework of existing talks between the two communities, in order to find a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

On this occasion the Yugoslav side also confirmed its full solidarity and support for the Cypriot Government for the preservation of its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and nonaligned status. It expressed its support for the proposal of the Cypriot president regarding the implementation of complete demilitarization. The Cypriot side expressed its gratitude to the government and peoples of Yugoslavia for their consistent and full support, especially as a member of the contact group of the nonaligned countries.

The two ministers examined with concern the undiminished tension and the threats to peace in the Middle East resulting from the aggressive Israeli policy toward the Palestinian people and toward the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Arab countries.

They confirmed their firm conviction that a just and lasting peace in this area can only be achieved by a comprehensive solution that includes an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the fulfillment of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people -- including the right to establishment of their own state -- and recognition of the rights of all states in the region to live in peace and security.

Full support was expressed for the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. [Words indistinct] to overcome in the interest and for the good of the Palestinian people on the basis of an autonomous commitment and unity in the struggle for the achievement of its vital aims.

The talks emphasized the activity and importance of the contribution given by the group of nonaligned and neutral countries at the Madrid conference on European security and cooperation. The possibility of a positive conclusion to this meeting within a short time was welcomed.

Proceeding from the fact that the seventh conference in New Delhi confirmed the validity of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment, deep conviction was again expressed that the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment will strengthen the unity, solidarity, and ability of the movement to function efficaciously as a positive, independent, and non-bloc force in international relations and to play an irreplaceable role in questions of world peace and equal international cooperation. The importance and support that the summit extended to the struggle for finally liquidating the remnants of colonialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid in southern Africa were also emphasized. In this regard, support and solidarity were expressed for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] to liberate Namibia from illegal occupation by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa.

On the basis of present achievements, the two sides also discussed possibilities for further developing cooperation between their countries in economic relations, culture, information, and other fields. They emphasized their determination to continue this fruitful, mutual cooperation on the international plane, in the nonaligned movement, in the group of European nonaligned and neutral countries, in the United Nations and in other international forums.

Minister Nikolaos Rolandhis invited Federal Secretary Lazar Mojsov to pay an official visit to the Republic of Cyprus. It was accepted with pleasure.

CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF RETURNS FROM HUNGARY

LD181016 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0756 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG) -- Colonel General Petar Oracanin, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, has returned from the People's Republic of Hungary after paying a working visit to the Armed Forces of the neighboring country.

During his stay in friendly Hungary, Col Gen Gracanin visited a number of Armed Forces units and establishments and held talks with his hosts on the further development of relations and cooperation between the Armed Forces of Hungary and Yugoslavia.

EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY SENT TO NICARAGUA

LD182338 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia has reiterated its solidarity with and support to the Nicaragua people in its just struggle for the country's independent, sovereign and free development.

Telegrams with expressions of solidarity on the anniversary of the Sandinista revolution were sent today by Presidency of Yugoslavia President Mika Spiljak and Assembly of Yugoslavia President Vojo Srzentic.

SPILJAK RECEIVES OUTGOING INDIAN AMBASSADOR

AU031457 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 83 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received Ashok Sen Chib, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of India to the SFRY, prior to his departure from our country, and had a friendly talk with him.

DRUG ABUSE STATISTICS; NEW HOSPITAL

AU151908 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 83 p 7

[Dragica Marinkovic and Zorana Suvakovic article: "Out of the Vicious Circle"]

[Summary] The construction of the first sanatorium for drug addicts is to begin at the Dr Dragisa Misovic Hospital in Belgrade "soon." The prefabricated building will have 1,500 square meters and accommodate 30 beds. It is expected to be completed by April next year. Brako Pesic recently told POLITIKA that the Institute for Drug Addiction has been exempted from the Law on Limitation of Investment, and therefore construction may proceed.

The idea of a special hospital for drug addicts was initiated 15 years ago, but it was then thought that addicts could be treated in existing psychiatric wards. However, one addict is a heavier burden on a medical staff than 20 gravely affected psychiatric patients. The beds are usually full and addicts are rarely admitted.

If admitted, an addict will distrub the whole ward, will break into the drug cupboard and demand the drug which "he knows" will help him. Some "relative" will always be visiting and may supply him with drugs.

In addition, diseases of addiction are neglected during medical studies. According to world statistics, one-quarter of all drug addicts heal themselves, one-quarter are cured by trained psychiatrists, all track is lost of one-quarter, and one-quarter die within 12 years.

When a Belgrade hospital announced that a certain Aleksandar, age 20, died of an overdose of drugs, two mothers called whose addicted sons had disappeared some weeks ago, and neither was the mother of the youth who died.

Colonel Stevan Petrovic, head of the Institute for Mental Health at the Military Academy, has in 4 years collected the records of addicts who have died. Out of 455 addicts reporting to Belgrade hospitals last year, only 3 were not on heroin, Dr Jovan Bukelic reports.

At a recent session of the Committee for Work, Health, and Social Protection, it was stated that there are about 10,000 addicts in our country, but a few experts agree that their number is several times larger. The Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs announced 2 years ago that it had a register of 3,000 addicts who had broken the law. It is accepted in the world that the number of registered addicts should be multiplied by a factor of three to five to obtain the real figure.

The Commission for Narcotic Drugs in the Federal Committee for Work, Health, and Social Policy has agreed that methadone should be used, but for not more than 21 days, in the treatment of addicts. Dr Stevan Petrovic explains that the use of methadone mitigates the withdrawal symptoms, but most psychiatric hospitals in Yugoslavia use the "dry" ["cold turkey"] method. Addicts are well informed; they consider the "dry" method punishment inflicted by society on its members who have broken accepted norms and avoid hospitals using it. This increases the pressure of patients on those few doctors who treat addicts properly.

In the Belgrade market, 1 gram of heroin fetches 10,000 new dinars and is sufficient for 1 day. Addicts resort to various devices, mix their powders, which may be fatal, peddle drugs to younger people, break into pharmacies, steal, and rob. Doctor Bukelic recently spoke at a public discussion about the vicious circle that an addict enters under the tyranny of the needle.

Once he crosses the line to crime, the addict gets the attention of the militia, the courts, and the prisons. Many parents see the prison as a chance for their sick children. But Judge Nikola Milosevic thinks that the two articles of the Criminal Code -- Articles 245 and 246, dealing with illegal production, trafficking, and facilitating the use of drugs -- should be amended. The procedure should be shortened. Many addicts die of an overdose while waiting for the sentence to be confirmed by a higher court. Judge Milosevic therefore urges that ways should be found for compulsory treatment or even detention after the sentence and pending an appeal. However, the Belgrade prison hospital is always full, even now, containing 50 addicts.

Numerous seminars training social workers have been held in the past year. Dr Bukelic says that the danger exists of making drugs banal or glamorous.